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G. BAILEY, *Washington, D. C.*

WASHINGTON, D. C.

From Fraser's Magazine.

LONE-HOUSE DALE.

CHAPTER THE FIRST.

Fortune made no favorite of Mr. Arden. Nothing ever succeeded with him as with other people, and all that he undertook failed the instant he put his hand to it. If he entered into a speculation, the shares were sure to fall the next day; and all his partners—and he had had several—were either bankrupt when they drew him into their affairs, or died soon after the signing of the deed—leaving him their debts as a legacy. Perhaps he was born under an unlucky star; or perhaps he was one of those sanguine visionaries who hope without examination, and take their wishes for certainties; who, because they desire, act as if they have attained, and so lose their chance of success by over certainty of fulfilment. For there are men actually incapable by mental organization from distinguishing between the future possible and the future positive; and Mr. Arden was one of them.

When his list of failures comprised every scheme he had ever entered into, and when he was well versed in the details, and thoroughly despairing of the home future, he realized all his possessions, and with his wife and only daughter placed himself on board a vessel bound for Australia; sure that in that young land of hope and energy he might retrieve his broken fortunes, if, indeed, they could be retrieved at all. Perhaps he might, if he had ever got there; but, when off the coast of Cornwall, a heavy storm drove the vessel on shore, and when the morning sun brightened on the wreck, it shone on the dead bodies of Mr. and Mrs. Arden, lashed by the boiling surf, and on the pale form of poor Rosa, their orphan, lying well-nigh lifeless on the sands. This, then, was the end of the luckless man's last venture; shipwreck, death, and a ruined orphan girl, scarce twenty-one, left to the cold charities of the world. His evil star had sunk at last. But it made a fiery and a stormy setting, in tragical exaggeration of the career of his life.

There were but a few houses in the village of Lone-house Dale, on the coast of which the ill fated *Arethusa* had gone down. Indeed, habitations had been so scarce there, that the one solitary dwelling, which had alone had dared to build in that bleak gorge, had given the valley its original name. By degrees a few cottages and huts had cronped themselves around the Lone-house, till a small hamlet was created, which in time took to itself the prerogatives of a parish, and gained a church and an incumbent; but nothing else of the machinery of modern society. At the time of the wreck, the only gentefolk in the Lone Dale were Mr. and Mrs. Doveton, the clergyman and his wife, and their one daughter, living at the Lone house of history, now converted into the parsonage. About six miles inland was a young "squire," lately come to his estate, and not too educated person besides for a dreary waste of miles round. The rest of the inhabitants were fishermen, and a few wretched farmers inland; but as there was only barren moor and craggy fell to farm, they were even worse off than the coast folk. Altogether, a more lonely, desolate, poverty stricken place could not have been found in the three kingdoms—a place where the sun never seemed to shine, or if by chance it did break through the leaden sky, it only saddened over one more than the most terrible storm and gloom, for it spoke of joy, and life, and gaiety, and happiness, to others, while looking down on nothing but dull dead misery there; a place so lifeless that even ship wrecks were better than nothing, for at least they were exciting, if tragical. The very poorest would rather have had half a dozen of the shipwrecked to feed for a month, than have gone without the pleasure of something to talk of and to do. These strangers from the outside life were as good as a file of newspapers or a batch of new novels; they were material of talk for a twelve-month after. It was a place where every family had several idiotic or imbecile relations, and where no one seemed to be as wise or as sharp as the rest of the world. A strange, slow, vacant, ill formed race were they, as if poverty and wretchedness had dried up all the richness of their young them, and withered them to something below ordinary humanity.

When the Dovetons heard that a ship had gone ashore, and was rapidly breaking up against the Long Point rocks, they hurried down to the place, partly to succour the fishermen in any efforts that might be practicable, partly to repress a possible outbreak of "wrecking;" for there had been such things talked of, even in quiet Lone-house Dale, when poverty had bitten hard on all, and destitution had stalked, like a wild wolf, from door to door. However, there were no signs of this ghastly wrong to-day. Fish had been plentiful of late, and life had been easy; and the dalesmen and the coast-folk alike were grateful to poor vexed gold—a warm, loving, unselfish nature, that asked for nothing, and that gave all—that lov ed with the passionate tenacity of the unlovely and the simple minded, content with the privilege of loving, but never of being loved in return. Poor unlovely Marian with her awkward limbs and her ungainly gestures, and the dear, noble, womanly heart within, looking up to the graceful Rosa as to a revelation—a being from another sphere—and feeling herself just a mean clod by the side of a rare, clear gem.

But Marian had something else to love besides Rosa. Young Mr. Rawlinson, the squire, of wearisome distinction, contrived to believe to himself that he was in love with the parson's daughter, of Lone house Dale, and in support of that phantasy had made a formal offer a few months before, which had been formally accepted. Awkward lover, too, ten times more awkward than ever—for now she was shy and abamefaced as well as nervous and conscious—yet loved this man lover with the whole silent, quiet idolatry of her ostunra, and though she was firmly persuaded herself uncomfortable and undemonstrative, nevertheless she well nigh adored him, great, rough, coarse-natured, hoozy, young squire as he was. And when Rosa was fished up, as Mr. Doveton said, like a sea-weed, from the wreck, he had introduced "Mist' Raw'ns'n's" name at least a dozen times the very first oveeing, so full of nervous love that she seemed to think Rosa would find out her secret by intuition, till Rosa grew nervous, too, lest Mr. Marian was their daughter, "our Marian," and "t' young lady" of the village. If they had offered a hundred a year, could they have got such a governess as this sweet creature? and was she not better than any governess in our dese dhill, all for board and lodging, and a few gowns and gloves?—which won't be very much, added Mrs. Doveton, in a calculating manner, counting off so many "months wear" and prices on her fingers.

So the Dovetons were more than content with their spoil from the wreck, and poor Rosa was as satisfied here as she would have been anywhere else, which was not saying very much, though; for, unfortunately for herself, Rosa Arden was one of those disastrously-natured people, the chronically discontented. All her flowers were buried in thorns, and her sunniest apples had sour cores. Life was a perpetual suffering to her; rain or shine, it was all the same a misery, and she forever a subject of self-pity—the secret of her discontent being that she had always been too much loved, that she had received and had not given back, and thereby had become that saddest creature on whom the glad sun shines—a woman spoilt and rendered selfish by over-love.

As the reputed heiress of the supposed wealthy merchant, she had been the centre of a large circle of admirers and tribute-payers. As the only child of affectionate parents, she had been idolized as none but only children are idolized. Every wish had been studied, every desire fulfilled; if she would but condescend to have wishes, and to be happy when everything and every person was laid under contribution to fulfil them—that was all that was needed to render the household blest. When she smiled, it was sunshine in the Arden home; when she frowned, it was blackest night; till at last this extreme care and attention lay on her, heavy and oppressive, like a perpetual presence, which destroyed both rest and unconsciousness. She did not know what she suffered, nor why, but she was the psychological secret of her unlike, indefinite melancholy, which no one had wit enough to read.

She was beautiful, but of a peculiar style of beauty—a bloodless, passionless, statuesque style. She was very fair, her hands and neck of almost fabulous whiteness, and her face of that dead pallor which, though so lovely, is so painfully suggestive. Her hair was almost pure flaxen, with just a tinge of gold at the ends, and here and there light threads of brown, which gave it more the semblance of a warmer tint than the reality, but it was singularly glossy, and in great profusion. Her eyes were dark gray, the brows and lashes a few shades darker than her hair. She was of middle height, slight, and very graceful, indolent to an extreme, taciturn, and self-possessed. No one had ever seen her hurried, excited, or agitated; no one had ever seen her weep; no one had ever heard her sing; she was never known to do a generous action, never heard to say an unkind word. Give her a French novel, an easy chair, a fashionable gown, and elegant appointments, and Rosa Arden would read by the fireside undisturbed while an earthquake rocked her cushioned feet, or the cry of murder sounded in her ears. But though she would not have exerted herself to save even a fellow-creature's life, yet she wished for no excessive at ention herself. Surround her with the luxuries necessary to her life, then leave her to herself. If Rosa Arden could have imagined happiness, it would have been under this form. Her notion of paradise, even as a child, had always been an island, where she might be alone, served by invisible hands, or by hands without bodies to them, as one reads of in fairy tales and "spiritual seances." But she was thoroughly well-bred withal, and, in spite of her selfish indolence, understood the laws of society too well to fail in one of the most insignificant minutiæ of good-breeding and conventional politeness. Such was the pearl which the Dovetons had gathered from the wreck, and which they now enshrined in their highest and holiest niche. And poor Rosa, as an orphan and ruined, found here, as well as in her brightest days, the oppression of too much love.

She was such a contrast to Marian! No wonder that even the parson, with all the blind partiality of parents, placed Rosa on a higher point in the scale of existence than they could place their own. Marian was a tall, undeveloped, meagre, awkward creature, of twenty-four or five; like an overgrown girl of twelve, so far as figure was concerned, and about thirty or thereabouts in her face. She was well-instructed theoretically, but she knew nothing that she could turn to practical account, either for use or for show. She could not play so as to be heard, but she understood double-bass to perfection; her drawings were innocent of perspective, and horribly colored, but she had knowledge of the rules and quantity of paper, muffled in by belchers and worsted "comforters." Marian, sitting upright on the extreme edge of a cane chair by Rosa, lounging back on a hard sofa in a graceful attitude under difficulties, said, jerkingly, "O my! there's Mister Rawlinson!" and immediately commenced a series of manual gymnastics known as "tidying," which almost distracted Rosa to witness. A moment after, the door was flung open, and in came a tall, burly young man, shouting and stamping, and howing with a coarse kind of shyness to Rosa; Rosa, in her London way, simply inclining her head, without rising or speaking, a reception that procured for her not the politest of epithets, when the boozy young squire told of his interview with the "strange London lass," down at the Bag of Nails, that night. Rosa ran one rapid glance over the *futur*, by whose side Marian stood in fidgetty but mute idiocy, and, with the nearest approach to a shudder of which she was capable, turned to her silk netting again, feeling painfully degraded by the simple presence of "such a creature as her equal." The big dogs sniffed about her, and one, even more vulgar and daring than his fellow, put a huge paw on her dress, and left a mud model there for her contemplation and disgust. The hurly young squire cracked his whip, and joked with Marian, more in affected than real ease, while Marian joined out her sentences like dropping shot, and Mr. and Mrs. Doveton caressed, and belauded, and delighted in their future son-in-law, and paraded him before Rosa, and paraded Rosa before him, as could have only happened down in Lone house Dale, where London girls and lovers were equally scarce. But Rosa would not be paraded. She answered, certainly, when spoken to, but she would not talk; and for all her host's endeavors to trot her out, she would not go through the smallest of her paces. It was merely a speaking doll that young Squire Rawlinson saw that day; and so he said at the Bag of Nails, and swore at her pride roundly, too. But somehow he wanted to see her again, "if it was only to give her back as good as she brought, and teach her her that squires with money in their pockets and land at their feet were equal to stuck up London misses, living as pauper lasses on others?" So Squire Rawlinson went to the parsonage next day, and stared at Rosa lounging on the sofa, silent and abstracted, as he would have stared at one of Madame Tussaud's wax-work figures, till at last he came to the conclusion that "she was a deuced fine creature, when all's said and done!"

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

MR CORWIN'S SPEECH IN THE CONNELLY CASE.

The Cincinnati papers of Saturday week contain full reports of the speech of Hon. Thomas Corwin on the 14th ult., in the case of William M. Connelly, charged with harboring fugitive slaves, before the U. S. Court—Hon. H. H. Leavitt presiding. We subjoin a few extracts, which will be read with interest:

I have shown that a residence, by the consent of his master, of even an hour, in a free State, makes a slave free, without any adjudication. This is a necessary result of the principle that the free States have a right to protect themselves against the competition of slave labor. The course of this State have always considered such residence an act of manumission.

In some of the decisions, this comity, as it is also stated in Story's Conflict on this point, is one which is neither created nor promulgated in the legislative departments. Such comity as is to be extended may be found in the statutes.

I have insisted already that the uniform authority of the courts in Kentucky for forty years, was that the voluntary return of a slave who had been sent by his master to a free State did not reduce him to Slavery. Now, if there is any such comity to be extended, as is claimed, it must be found in the statutes of Kentucky, and not in the decisions. The gentleman who conducts the prosecution has failed to show any such statute, and I ask your honor to apply this principle to the case.

We know what is the law of this State, but it is well enough to refresh our memories. Col. Withers stated, if I recollect rightly, that his slave Irvine was here a hundred times during the six months prior to June 13th, 1857. Now, on the 13th of April, 1857, a law was passed by the Ohio Legislature, which denounces the penalty of false imprisonment and kidnapping against any one who shall endeavor to remove a person from this State against his will, or hold him there in involuntary servitude. (The law was read.) Your Honor shall see that the law carefully excludes the case of the fugitive from labor. But it declares that a slave, here by his master's consent, shall be taken as a freeman—a proposition which no one can controvert. Now, Col. Withers permitted his slave to come into this State several times during the pendency of that law. And I wish to know if your Honor can hold that a man so sent was not brought in this State at the same time, at the punish a citizen of Ohio who acts in accordance with the law, but did not know the decision in 9 Ben. Monroe? Acting under these improvisions, is my client to be indicted and punished as felon, because he does not know the law of a neighboring State? Why, that would require that a citizen of Ohio should know all the laws of Kentucky, and the laws of all the slave States. The learned District Attorney, pre-supposing that I did not know the law of Kentucky, got a young lawyer, (a worthy young man, a year old in his profession, he told you,) that he might from his profound diligence, tell me what your Honor has to learn from this young man, is my client bound to know under penalties? [Laughter.]

That's law as sent from Washington, and made law by my friend. I know not no one through whom I should more willingly learn the laws, if they are to be hung up, like Caligula's, so high that they can't be read, than my friend the prosecutor, whom I shall have to consider as the unwilling agent in the enforcement of this law.

To show the law in Ohio, Mr. Corwin read from 6 Ohio Rep., 622, the syllabus of the case of Anderson vs. Poindexter *et al.*

[Here Corwin read.]

But there is a point arising under the law on which this indictment is based, that seems to make it your Honor's duty to discharge the prisoner. The indictment reads that Connelly did harbor, etc., *on the days and there to present* their discovery and arrest. The clause under which this indictment is very properly drawn is in the 7th section of the Fugitive Slave Act. Your Honor will find the act in all the books where laws are printed. Mr. Corwin read the section, which concludes with declaring that the person harboring and concealing, so as to prevent the discovery, shall pay $1.000 to the owner for each slave *lost as aforesaid.*

The point was made, and Judge Stallo, Mr. Corwin resumed: The gentleman thought proper, the other day, to advert to the circumstances under which the law was made.

Few men can know them better than myself. The act was passed in September, 1850. Congress had been in session from the middle of the previous December, in anxious deliberation. California had made herself a State. Utah and New Mexico were awaiting Territorial Governments. For nearly eleven months they had been under the administration of a military Governor; and Southern men, seeing that California was likely to come in as a free State, which would be a Northern gain, were determined to have an equivalent concession.

So the Fugitive Slave Law was made with the view that no negro could run away without being caught.

What does this law do? In the first place, it constitutes the appointees of a court judges to determine between master and slave. In the 3d section it is provided that the marshals shall, upon a warrant being issued by that worthy young gentleman, Mr. Newhall, who presided at the surgical operation in the case of Irvine Broadhurst, when his wounds were dressed by the—[Laughter.] Now and then a court of justice—immediately serve it, under a penalty of $1,000. [Other sections were reviewed.]

In the last section it provided, that any white man can sit down before any court in Georgia, and swear that he has lost a black man with certain marks upon him—his nose uncommonly flat, his shins having an unusually round encumber curve, or any other mark by which the descendants of Ham can be distinguished—and having sworn to this, with no one to cross-examine him or detect his perjury if he commite it, the court sets its broad seal to it, and he comes to Cincinnati, appears before Mr. Commissioner Newhall, gets a warrant, and goes out into the streets to find a man who answers to his description.

Mr. Corwin commented sharply upon the inequality of such a law, which placed the whole U. S. army, navy, and treasury, at the disposal of a slave owner, to recapture his property. He thought it monstrous, although necessary, because, when men sought power which God Almighty had never given, they had to maintain it by means He had never sanctioned.

The law was to be obeyed; but if anything more was to be conceded by the North, he didn't know what it was to be. He contended for the strict interpretation of the law, and reasoned from the plain meaning of the clause referred to above, that it was the duty of the court to discharge the prisoner.

Does it come from Mr. Matthews? He willing to be known. All this the U. S. Government knew; the District Attorney knew; the Marshals knew. I ask you whether the Government of the United States is likely to add to its burthens by employing base, perjured informers, to execute its great purposes of preserving the entirety, unity, and harmony of the Republic?

[Here Mr. Corwin took a sip of something in a tumbler, and resumed: Gentlemen of the jury, who were very thirsty, quite intently. As he set down the glass with that indescribable look of his, he said: "That's not bad. I saw you cast a wishful eye on it."]

What is the next step? Let's take a general view. Seven Marshals being told by one of their number that some one who wrote out notes, somebody who cut down the fees of the Marshals $11,000, was in a fix. Now was the time to make him pay for it. Seven we'd see he didn't cut down any more $11,000.

Commissioner Newhall, filled with a patriotic desire to prevent a dissolution of the Union, thereupon issues a warrant for the arrest of two respectable, hitherto unknown negroes to be the chosen instruments of the Devil to break up the Union, and spread misery all over the world. He confides the warrant to these worthy instruments, the Marshals, and at 10 o'clock the consecrated Sabbath morning. They are devoted to the preservation of the Union and the maintenance of universal freedom. The banner of the United States waves over them; they are paid from the United States Treasury; they have in their pocket a warrant issued by a commissioner appointed by the President of the United States

Mr Kunkel, of Maryland, renewed the motion, which prevailed—yeas 64, nays 45.

Accordingly, at twenty minutes past four o'clock, the House adjourned.

Friday, June 4, 1858.

A brief synopsis by the *Intelligencer* of Friday's proceedings will suffice.

SENATE.

The joint resolution, as amended by the House of Representatives, prolonging the present session until the 10th inst., was called up and passed.

Mr. Hunter early moved to postpone all other business, for the purpose of taking up the naval appropriation bill.

Mr. Iverson objected, on the ground that the day should be assigned to the consideration of the private calendar.

The motion was negatived.

The Senate then proceeded to consider such private bills as encountered no objection, of which a large number were passed.

After several ineffectual motions, made at a later hour, by Mr. Hunter, with a view of proceeding to a discussion of the naval appropriation bill, the Senate determined, at five o'clock, to hold an Executive session.

HOUSE.

The bill making appropriations for the consular and diplomatic service was considered, and the Senate's amendment striking out the second section (which restricted payments to the fiscal year) was concurred in by the close vote of 84 to 81.

On the motion of Mr. Maynard, the select committee appointed to investigate the conduct and accounts of William Cullom, the late Clerk of the House, were allowed to sit until the next session, and then submit their final report. The committee have examined seventy witnesses, but deem further testimony necessary.

The subject of the construction of war steamers occupied a portion of the attention of the House. Mr. Bocock desired leave to report from the Committee on Naval Affairs a bill for that purpose, and, in reply to a question as to their cost, he stated that the estimate of the Secretary of the Navy was two million three hundred thousand dollars. Mr. J. Cochrane wished to amend so as to authorize the construction of twenty instead of ten steamers. Objection being made to the introduction of the bill, Mr. Bocock moved to suspend the rules. The vote on this motion was 127 to 66; so, there being five votes less than two-thirds, the rules were not suspended. The vote, however, may be considered an indication of the sentiment of the House on the subject of an increase of the navy; and this increase, it is understood, is necessary, whether there be war or peace.

The House, by the decided vote of 143 to 35, gave a construction to the second section of the act of 3d February, 1853, concerning widows of revolutionary officers who were married since the 1st of January, 1800. The joint resolution provides that these pensions shall commence from the 4th of March, 1848, as decided by the Court of Claims in the case of Jane Smith.

Mr. J. G. Jones stated that the bill making appropriations for certain civil expenses had passed the Senate with sixty four amendments, and, on his motion, the bill was referred.

The House then went into Committee on the private calendar, and reported favorably on several bills, which were subsequently passed. A number of private bills were passed without going through the Committee; amongst them, one for the relief of a revolutionary soldier who is now 103 years old. The House continued its session until nearly seven o'clock.

Saturday, neither House transacted business, owing to the death of Senator Henderson,

Monday, June 7, 1858.

SENATE.

Mail Steam Service.—Mr. Hunter, from the Committee on Finance, to which was referred the bill from the House making appropriations for the transportation of the United States mail by ocean steamers and otherwise, during the fiscal year ending the 30th June, 1859, reported it back with an amendment.

Limit of National Expenditures.—Mr. Hunter submitted the following resolution for consideration:

Resolved, That the President of the United States be requested to cause the Heads of the Executive Departments to submit estimates at the next session of Congress upon the basis of an expenditure not exceeding sixty millions of dollars, exclusive of the payment of the public debt, for the fiscal year commencing the 1st of July, 1859.

Naval Appropriation Bill.—The bill making appropriation for the naval service was then taken up.

Mr. Mallory moved to amend the bill by appropriating $1,200,000, so as in effect to provide for the construction of steamers, and, not to exceed fourteen feet draught, five to be not exceeding twelve feet draught, and the other to be a side-wheel paddle steamer of eight feet draught.

Mr. Hale moved to amend the amendment by striking out the four largest of these ships, which led to a protracted discussion, and was defeated—yeas 22, nays 31.

Mr. Clingman moved to amend the amendment by providing for twenty gunboats in addition, with full steam power.

Decided in the negative—yeas 12, nays 36.

Mr. Green moved to amend the amendment by inserting a clause giving to the President authority to grant letters of marque and reprisal.

The question was decided by yeas and nays—yeas 6, nays 40.

The affirmative votes were Messrs. Brown, Douglas, Green, Johnson of Tennessee, Pugh, and Rice.

The question was then taken on Mr. Mallory's amendment, and it was decided in the negative—yeas 20, nays 24.

Various other amendments were discussed, some of which were rejected, and some agreed to, when the bill was reported to the Senate.

Mr. Mallory then moved to build five sloops-of-war, when the question was taken by yeas and nays, and decided in the affirmative.

Mr. Crittenden then moved that all steamships hereafter to be built of forty guns and over shall be named after States, and all under forty guns shall be named after rivers; under twenty guns, as the President may direct.

Mr. Mallory moved to except all those already named. The amendment was agreed to, and the bill was read a third time and passed.

Mr. Hunter moved to postpone all other orders to take up the army bill; which was agreed to, and the Senate adjourned, after having been in continuous session from eleven o'clock in the morning until nine at night.

HOUSE.

Mr. Savage, of Tennessee, announced the settlement, upon terms honorable to both parties, of certain personal difficulties which had arisen between Messrs. Harris, of Illinois, and Hughes, of Indiana.

The principal business was the consideration of the bill making appropriations for certain civil expenses of the Government. The Committee of Ways and Means recommended a concurrence in only eighteen of the sixty four amendments of the Senate. These were severally adopted, with a view to a concurrence in the proviso in the Senate amendment to the appropriation for the extension of the Capitol, but it was finally concurred in with a proviso in regard to the ornaments and decorations of the interior. The amendments concerning appropriations for custom-houses occasioned debate, but in most cases the recommendations of the Committee of the Whole were concurred in. It is probable that the disagreeing votes of the two Houses will be referred to committees of conference.

The session was extended to half past eight o'clock.

Robert J. Walker says he will go to Kansas and speak against the English bill, if necessary to secure its rejection. His secretary, Stanton, still has his residence there, and his wife remains in the Territory. Neither of these gentlemen show any abatement of their hostility to the Administration, and are apparently enlisted for the war. Secretary Stanton says the course of the Republicans in voting for the Crittenden-Montgomery bill was "liberal and patriotic," and that the Administration, by its course in regard to Kansas, has "assumed the sectional and indefensible ground, leaving the Democratic and true constitutional platform in the possession of the anti-Lecompton Democrats, Americans, and Republicans."

The famous McHenry, who has been so long on trial in Canada as Townsend, has become a lion since his liberation, and is lecturing through the country. He is received with great enthusiasm.

☞ Mr. Wheeler is the accredited agent for the *Era*, in Cincinnati, Ohio.

Mr. L. T. Park, of Mount Union, Ohio, will receive and forward subscriptions for the *Era*, at club rates.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

THURSDAY, JUNE 10, 1858.

A NEW NOVEL TO BE PUBLISHED IN THE ERA.

NOTICE TO SUBSCRIBERS.

We shall commence the publication of a new Novel in the *National Era*, the first week in July, and continue it weekly till completed. It will probably run through the remainder of this volume.

We should offend the author's modesty, were we to speak of the work in such terms as would be justified by an examination of the opening chapters submitted to us. There will be nothing commonplace or low-toned in it. Its treatment of the great questions of the age, its allusions to current events, the lofty rectitude of its sentiments, its pungent satire, not malevolent, but just, apart from the profound interest of the plot, which embraces characters and incidents in all parts of our country, illustrative of life and social institutions in its three great sections, will make it specially welcome to our readers, and to all who like to see Literature consecrated to the service of Humanity.

We announce the work in advance, so as to give an opportunity to those who have permitted their subscriptions to expire, to renew them, and to allow time for new subscribers who may desire to begin with the first number.

Will our friends of the Press please call attention to the following notice:

In the *National Era* of July 1, will be commenced the publication of a new Novel, entitled as follows:

HERMAN;
OR,
YOUNG ENIGHTHOOD.

BY E. FOXTON,
Author of "Premiers."

"A youth who bore, 'mid snow and ice,
A banner, with the strange device, "Excelsior!"
Longfellow.

"I cannot reconcile my belief in the Bible with ordinary life and its ordinary fashions and practices."—*Oakfield.*

"Suppose, Miss Minerva, I say the Golden Rule is my theory of life. You think it vague; but it is in that like most theories."—*The Peripher Papers.*

"This was the seed-time: God alone
Beholds the end of what is sown;
Beyond our vision, weak and dim,
The harvest-time is hid with him."—*Whittier.*

The work will appear weekly, till completed. Persons wishing to subscribe should send in their subscriptions immediately, to begin with the first chapter of the novel, which will have peculiar attractions for both the Northern and Southern mind.

DR. CUMMINS AND DR. TYNG.

The *National Intelligencer*, by request of Dr. Cummins, publishes our article and the correspondence between Mr. Hale and Dr. Tyng, in relation to the position of the late Dudley A. Tyng on the Slavery question, with the following reply by Dr. Cummins:

"To all this I beg leave to reply:

"1. That I never represented 'the position which the late Dudley A. Tyng took on the Slavery question as the great error of his life,' as the matter is stated by Senator Hale. The topic of Slavery was not alluded to in the sermon. No man could learn from that sermon or any other of mine my views upon the Slavery question. My distinct statement, very carefully guarded, was that Mr. Tyng had committed a grave and most serious error *in bringing the discussion of a political subject into the pulpit.* And I added, that Mr. Hale has on stated, that in my judgment the great Enemy of the Gospel had never devised a more successful mode of retarding the progress of the Gospel in this land than the attempt of ministers of religion and churches and religious societies to interfere in the heated strife of the politics of the day.

"As I made no reference to the political subject which Mr. Tyng introduced into his pulpit, (though I was aware that all my hearers were familiar with the history,) I could give no opinion as to the soundness or unsoundness of his views upon this subject. Nor was this of the least importance as to the great principle advanced by me in the sermon. That principle is one which, in my judgment, is one especial glory of the Protestant Episcopal church in this country, viz: *that her sphere of duty as a church of Christ is wholly confined to matter purely spiritual and religious.* This principle has been sanctioned by the almost unanimous practice of her bishops and clergy through all the history of the church in this country, and in every part of the Union, North, South, East, and West. The Episcopal church does not ask her ministers and members to think alike on any political topic. Doubtless there are Pro-Slavery and Anti-Slavery men within her pale; but as far as my knowledge goes, the late Mr. Tyng was the first to discuss this exciting subject in an Episcopal pulpit. I believe it to have been an error; and as I was setting him forth in his Christian character as an example to young men, I could not, without compromising my own views of duty, hesitate to state my belief. Had Mr. Tyng taken an opposite position to Senator Hale, it would not have altered in the least my opinion of the error committed by him.

"2. I did state that I believed that Mr. Tyng *regretted* this step. I did not state that he *repented* or *retracted*; I knew that he had never retracted in any public manner. I stated also the grounds of my belief that he regretted the step, viz: that I never had heard of his repeating it; and that he lived more than two years after the event, and was known chiefly as a most fervent and zealous preacher of Christ and His crucified love. I was very careful not to state that it *was within my knowledge* that he regretted it; it was but my belief, founded upon the facts above stated. I am now forced to admit that in this *belief* I was mistaken. I need scarcely say, that I deeply regret the error of the ablest members of the Cabinet at that time, spoke as follows:

"But the main interest was to be found in the deep and abiding feeling cherished by Englishmen on the subject of the extinction of Slavery and the improvement of the native tribes of Africa. It had been stated—he was surprised to learn—stated by Mr. Seward, in the Senate of the United States, that a change had come over the opinions of the British Government respecting this question. *On the part of her Majesty's Government he was authorised to say that there was no ground for any such assertion*, and there was no object on which the noble Lord at the head of the Government had shown more consistent steadfastness of purpose than the abolition of the slave trade. Among the motives which had induced her Majesty's Government to assist in fitting out this expedition, the first and foremost was a desire to assist in putting an end to the slave trade and improving the state of the native tribes of Africa."

The statement, it will be observed, is by authority, and avers unchanged opinions and policy in regard both to slavery and the slave trade.

As to the efforts of both Governments to augment the Labor of their colonies, that proves nothing against Emancipation, and furnishes not the slightest ground for inferring that they regret the abolition of Slavery. This is a mere illusion of Mr. Mason. Does he not know that the want of labor has always been complained of in the Colonies? Has he forgotten that under the system of Slavery, it was supplied by regular importations from Africa—the slave trade—until the abolition of that traffic? Does "the regulated system of slave labor" in Cuba exclude the necessity of fresh supplies of laborers from abroad? The constant demand for more, and it is this which makes Africa heed TROPICAL PRODUCTION—SLAVERY AND THE SLAVE TRADE.

Few persons, we presume, remember that J. Y. Mason, of Virginia, represents the United States at the Court of Napoleon. As there has been nothing to do in Paris, he has been eminently successful in doing nothing, for which he is paid at the rate of $18,000 per annum.

At last, however, as if anxious to show his countrymen that he has fully recovered from the paralysis which, for a time, threatened to perpetuate the profound repose of his faculties, he has achieved a Letter—a letter illustrating his devotion to the great interests of his country. Can the reader guess its contents? It relates to a theme on which the sons of the old Dominion always grow eloquent. John Y. Mason, American Minister Plenipotentiary, has been abroad many years, lying in wait for an occasion to strike a blow for Slavery: the hour comes, he nerves himself for the task, and, in its great fulfilment, who shall say that he has not more than earned the poor wages his country bestows upon him?

The British and French Governments want more labor in their colonies. The English import Coolies, the French contract for free emigrants from Africa. Mr. Mason seeks an interview with Count Walewski, Minister of Foreign Affairs, and the Count tells him, very frankly, "that the French colonies, particularly in the West Indies, are languishing for want of labor; that negro labor alone is adapted to tropical productions; that the French Government has devised a system for the introduction from Africa of laborers, under guards, intended to protect them as free emigrants; that, to supply these laborers, they lock mainly to prisoners taken by the tribes in their intestine wars, who would, if not so disposed of, according to the barbarous customs of the country, be put to death; that the arrangements in Africa, prior to embarkation, and for the disposition of the emigrants during the voyage and after their arrival in the colonies, are entirely under the management of commissioners of the French Government; that obligations are taken by them from the planters who receive the emigrants into service to bind them to provide for the negroes during their term of service, and secure to them the means of returning to Africa, if they choose to do so, after its expiration; that there is no truth in the rumor that British cruisers regard vessels containing such emigrants as engaged in the slave trade," &c.

Mr. Mason hereupon grows hopeful; the revival of what he considers a kind of slave trade, gives him great satisfaction; civilization, he thinks, is beginning to reconsider its hasty decision; and he feels "quite confident" that, in future, "we will see the fanatical denunciation of American Slavery greatly moderated, if not silenced, in France, perhaps in England." In his mind, clearly, the slave trade and slavery are affectionately associated.

The letter from which we quote bears date, Paris, February 19, 1858, and is addressed to General Cass. We print the closing passage in full. It contains the pith of the whole. It shows what brilliant services Diplomacy may render to the Cause of Humanity and Progress in this country:

"It is quite evident that a conviction is gaining strength both in England and France that in the compulsory emancipation of the slaves in their tropical colonies by authority of Government a grave political error has been committed—an error injust to the colonists whose rights of property were destroyed, and to the colonies by the annihilation of the labor which made them productive—without securing any compensating benefit. It was attributed to an abstract idea; and now, to repair the error in its politico-economical sense, measures are resorted to which amount, essentially and necessarily, to the restoration of Slavery, whether of the coolies or the free emigrants or the rebellious sepoys of British India, far more objectionable than the regulated system of slave labor which the present generation found established and disapproved. It is a subject of so much interest to the United States that I have thought it not amiss to make this communication. It appears to me that when the condition of the native-born slave of the United States, intelligent, well cared for, christianized, and happy, is contrasted with that of the coolie, or the African emigrant, or the transported Indian sepoy, the most fastidious philanthropy will not hesitate to declare he would have no one sides to be and when enlightened Governments, at the head of European civilization, are seen, in a moment of fanaticism, to interfere with the rights of property, and to destroy the labor of whole communities on an abstract notion, and so soon compelled by political necessities to resort to such measures to repair the wrong which they have done, all right-minded men with us will conclude that 'it is better to beat the ills we have, than fly to others that we know not of.' J. Y. MASON."

Like our foreign Ministers generally, Mr. Mason thinks it his great duty to watch over and promote the interests of Slavery. But, his zeal misleads him. We should like him to produce the grounds on which he rests his confident opinion that the Pro-Slavery sentiment is reviving either in France or England. There is nothing in the tone of their Press or the action of their Governments to countenance such an idea. It was doubtless the crude statements of this functionary that led his namesake in the Senate to congratulate the country on the change of sentiment going on in the British nation on the subject of Slavery and the slave trade: he thought he saw indications of a more liberal policy. Mr. Seward, while denying that there was any change in the British People, admitted that there might be in the Government. This passage in the Senate caught the attention of that Government, which availed itself of the earliest opportunity to set itself right, and impose the groundless impressions of our Minister and his Senatorial namesake. At a farewell dinner given to Dr. Livingston before his departure from Africa, the Duke of Argyle, one of the ablest members of the Cabinet at that time, spoke as follows:

"But the main interest was to be found in the deep and abiding feeling cherished by Englishmen on the subject of the extinction of Slavery and the improvement of the native tribes of Africa. It had been stated—he was surprised to learn—stated by Mr. Seward, in the Senate of the United States, that a change had come over the opinions of the British Government respecting this question. *On the part of her Majesty's Government he was authorised to say that there was no ground for any such assertion*, and there was no object on which the noble Lord at the head of the Government had shown more consistent steadfastness of purpose than the abolition of the slave trade. Among the motives which had induced her Majesty's Government to assist in fitting out this expedition, the first and foremost was a desire to assist in putting an end to the slave trade and improving the state of the native tribes of Africa."

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"The day is near at hand, unless some remedy is speedily devised, when negroes will be so valuable that none but the rich can own them. It is all-important to the institution of Slavery that the number of *slave owners* should be increased instead of diminished, *and I know of no plan to effect this object as well as this African apprentice system.*"

By the way, the Colonel does not attempt to disguise the true nature of this Apprentice scheme; *it aims to import slaves under the name of apprentices!*

Mr. Mason ought to know that the demand for labor in the West Indies and in the cotton-growing region of this country has always outrun the supply. The Capital has increased faster than the Labor. Under the system of Slavery in Cuba, in the production of the great staples, men, women, and children are employed, and at certain seasons are worked so incessantly as to cause great waste of life, and consequently a constant demand for new supplies. These can be furnished only by the slave trade. The system of slave-labor in Cuba could not be maintained, as now managed, if the supplies were cut off from Africa. The planters would be obliged to husband the energies of their present stock of slaves, and pay great attention to *breeding*, or make up their minds to see the system run out. In the Southern section of this country, there may not be so great a waste of human life in the cultivation of the great staples as in Cuba, but there is a vast cotton and sugar region not yet occupied demanding large supplies of slave labor can be obtained only from the farming slave States. It is this which has given birth to the domestic slave trade, identical in principle with the African trade, differing only in this—that the subjects of the former are to a certain extent civilized. But, even these States furnish an inadequate supply of slave labor, the surplus, after their own agricultural wants are provided for, being comparatively small. Hence the apprehension of Col. Claiborne that negroes will at no distant day become so valuable that none but rich men can own them; hence, too, the growing sentiment in the cotton region in favor of a restoration of the foreign slave trade. But, the determined opposition of the Free States and of the farming slave States will forever render that event impossible. The opposition in the latter may arise to a certain extent from philanthropic considerations, but we are bound to say that such motives are rarely avowed. On the contrary, the farming slave States rest their opposition to the reopening of the foreign slave trade chiefly on the ground that it would be disastrous to their vital interest. What they mean by this, we shall see.

The *Richmond (Va.) Enquirer* of May 24th, 1858, deeply displeased with the Montgomery Commercial Convention, for its deliberate attempt to recommend the revival of the African slave trade, and make that question a test of the Union, says:

"If the cotton States are determined to revive the slave trade, and thus to destroy the value of Slavery in every non-cotton-growing State, it will demonstrate a selfishness of which we have believed Southern States incapable. If a dissolution of the Union is to be followed by the revival of the slave trade, Virginia had better consider whether the south of the Northern Confederacy would not be far more preferable for her than the north of a Southern Confederacy. In the Northern Confederacy, Virginia would derive a large amount from the sale of her slaves to the South, and gain the increased value of her lands from Northern emigration; while in the Southern Confederacy, with the African slave trade revived, she would lose two-thirds of the value of her slave property, and derive no additional increase to the value of her lands."

What does this mean? Plainly, that slaves in Virginia are valuable chiefly as merchandise—articles of exportation to the South. She and her sister farming slave States have a monopoly of the home market for slaves in the cotton-growing States. Destroy this monopoly—revive the foreign slave trade—and Slavery ceases to be valuable to us—we lose at once two-thirds of our slave property!

Again, replying to a remark of the *Richmond (Va.) Examiner*, that it hoped the *Enquirer* did not mean to say, that upon any calculation of dollars and cents, or under any conceivable circumstances whatever, Virginia ought to abandon her Southern sisters, and attach herself to a Northern Confederacy, the *Enquirer* says:

"That if we believed, that after a dissolution of the Union, the Southern Confederacy would reopen the '*slave trade*,' then, and in that case, we would urge upon Virginia to seek no connection with that Confederacy until a guarantee was given that her interest in Slavery should be protected by her 'sisters' of the Southern Confederacy. Shall Virginia dissolve this Union for the avowed reason that the institution of Slavery was not sufficiently protected, and then connect herself with the South, whose Confederacy, by reopening the slave trade, would destroy two-thirds of the value of the institution in the State? In the Federal Union we are induced to believe that Slavery is threatened with danger only by our Northern enemies; while in the Southern Confederacy, if the councils of the mad-caps of the Montgomery Convention are to be potential, Slavery in Virginia would be certainly destroyed. This, then, is what we would have our neighbor understand by our Monday's article, which has attracted so much attention: that if our 'sisters' of the South entirely disregard the value of the greatest interest in Virginia, and for the present and prospective benefit of a cotton interest, seek the destruction of the value of our slaves, it would demonstrate that no family affection existed, and Virginia should have no part nor lot in a Confederacy so disregardful of her interest."

Nothing could be more explicit. The reopening of the foreign slave trade would destroy Slavery in Virginia, and the other farming slave States, by divesting the slaves of marketable value—by putting an end to the domestic slave trade, on which rests the value of slave property in those States!

We do not pause to comment upon the revolting aspect of such considerations, coolly avowed by one of the most respectable and influential of Southern papers: our object now is simply to show that the Northern slave States, acting with the free States, must render the revival of the foreign slave trade impossible, so long as the Union shall last. There can be no accession to the number of slave laborers, except from the home increase; but the demand constantly outrunning the supply, the value of slaves must rate higher and higher, until, as Col. Claiborne says, none but rich men can own them; and the slave States must then gradually be depopulated, so far as the white population is concerned, or other interests must spring up, which at some future day will be strong enough to confront and overrule that engrossing, imperious Interest which now dominates the South. Whenever it shall come to pass that none but the very rich own slaves, Slavery will stand upon a narrow and an insecure pedestal.

In any event, the West India Islands, whether slaveholding or free, and the slave States of this country must be retarded in their growth, by the want of labor. Europe is a great hive of workingmen, free, civilized, intelligent, and enterprising. Set before them an object, open to them a fresh field for enterprise, and they will emigrate. The New World beckons them to its shores, and they come—not to the tropics, to die; not to the slaveholding regions, to be degraded, and to be crushed by the competition of unpaid labor—but to the *free* States and Territories of the American Union, where they can work with vigor, calculate upon certain remuneration, and be assured of equal rights and consideration. The free States of this continent and the Canadas need no schemes of Government emigration or compulsory colonization to supply the demand for Labor. But, whence shall be drawn the supplies of labor for the slave regions of the New World, and for such free portions of it as are devoted to tropical production? Jamaica and Martinique throw open their ports, and invite immigration, but where is voluntary immigration to come from? Africa knows nothing, hears nothing. Were her thronging millions civilized, addicted to commerce, intelligent, thousands of them would pour into the free West Indies, and carry production to the highest point. But Africa is not civilized, and hence the interposition of the English and French Governments to furnish supplies of labor by artificial methods. The attempt will fail. The plan is costly, troublesome, inefficient; it is liable to enormous abuses; must tend, like the slave trade itself, to provoke wars in Africa, and perpetuate the savage condition of its tribes; cannot fail, in many cases, to revive the horrors of the middle passage; must retard civilization in the colonies, and reduce society there to a barbarous form.

Of course, there will be little voluntary immigration of free laborers to the slave regions of the New World—none to engage in tropical production. Cuba must draw its supplies from the African slave trade, or finally give up Slavery. The cotton and sugar growing States of this Union, as we have seen, cut off alike from free immigration, and from slave importation, must depend alone upon such meagre supplies as they can obtain from Virginia, Maryland, North Carolina, Kentucky, and Tennessee, which themselves have little labor to spare, as free immigration is apt to turn aside from them, notwithstanding their fine climate, great water-power and unsurpassed agricultural capabilities.

What, then, is to be done? Population steadily increases—the demand for cotton and tropical productions must augment indefinitely—where shall the supplies come from? The cotton-growing States of the Union need more labor, not land. How are they to get it? If it be right to hold slaves—if slave labor alone be adapted to the growth of cotton and tropical productions—they are right in demanding the reopening of the foreign slave trade—right in denouncing the act prohibiting it, as unjustly discriminating against them, securing advantages to the free States and to the farming slave States, subjecting them to great disadvantages. But, as we have said, in the Union, that act will never be repealed, and out of it *they* will never go.

The great question for the world then arises—if the French and British free colonies, and the slave regions of the new world, cannot supply the demands of civilization for tropical productions, what shall be done? CIVILIZE AFRICA. Put an end to the slave trade. Stop all your free emigrant schemes. Cease to foster domestic wars among its tribes—to tempt them to prey upon each other, to kidnap and sell one another. Trade with them. Establish factories where it can be done, to take their cotton and coffee (of which they can produce unlimited quantities) in exchange for fabrics which they need but cannot make. In Liberia, for instance, cotton is a perennial plant, and the crops increase from year to year. It is now established that there is an immense cotton-growing region in Africa. Thomas Clagg, a large cotton manufacturer in Manchester, writes to the *London Daily News* concerning certain operations north and south of the mouth of the river Niger, as follows:

"Up to the 1st of this month, (March, 1858,) I had sent out 157 cotton gins, costing from £3 12s. 6d. to £10 10s. each.

"I have received into correspondence with upwards of seventy six native and other African traders, 21 or 22 of them being chiefs, many of whom have begun to consign their cotton, as well as other produce, to me. In conducting this affair, I have personally all the trouble, and have now outstanding about £4,693, every shilling of which I expect to receive back; indeed, I have bills of lading and advices of great quantities of cotton and other produce being on its way to me, which I have not mentioned and in liquidation of what is owing to me.

"I have had one transaction with one of these traders, from which he received $3,500, and it is both satisfactory and pleasing to know that every trader engaged internally takes back hardware, earthenware, cotton goods, or other merchandise, for the whole amount of cotton or other produce sent here.

"The people of Abbeokuta cannot be made to believe that England will purchase all the cotton that they can produce, and yet Abbeokuta is but just on the border—at one corner, I may say—of the great cotton field of Western Africa, extending from Abbeokuta to the Niger, and away into the interior.

"Coupling my experience on this coast, the belief of the Abbeokutans, and the recent dispatch of Dr. Baikie from the Niger to our Government, where he states that the Rev. Mr. Clarke had sent all the cotton he could, from Lagos to Abbeokuta, fifteen or sixteen packages of clean cotton offered for sale, weighing 75 lbs. to 85 lbs. each, and had been assured by the natives that on market days (every fourth) from one to two thousand such packages were offered for sale, and this for their own country manufacture only; I say, coupling these statements with my operation, what I know of Tunis and Natal, and what Dr. Livingstone tells us of the East, I can clearly see a prospect of the slave trade being entirely starved out; the tractable, docile, and intelligent African rising in the scale of civilization and Christianity, in proportion as he is allowed to enjoy his own rights, and stay in till the land and trade in his own native country, even if confined to the cultivation of cotton alone."

Lawful commerce will open the way to Civilization and Christianity; and Civilized Africa will vindicate her children, wherever scattered. From Africa herself may come Retribution for the wrongs she has suffered for ages. From Civilized Africa may come the power that shall finally prostrate the system which has fattened upon her life blood.

While England and France should be engaged in the work of civilizing Africa, and developing its great capacities for tropical productions, this country too has a task scarcely less important to perform. Around the shores of the Gulf, in Mexico, Central America, and Yucatan, are large tracts of land adapted to the production of sugar, cotton, and rice. The Planting Interest of the South looks upon them with longing eyes, but what can it do to bring them under cultivation? More labor is its need, not more land. It has already a field larger than it can occupy. It has not laborers enough for the occupation of those Gulf regions, and in any case its attempt to appropriate them to Slavery would be resisted by the natives.

Here is a field for the enterprise of our free colored people; here an opportunity for them to take part in the great movements going on for the subjugation of the world to Labor directed by Intelligence. In these shore districts of the Gulf, the climate is not favorable to the white man, nor is the population in sympathy with him; but the colored emigrant can find plenty of sympathy, and can labor without injury. Here, then, is a broad field on which to try the experiment of free labor in the production of cotton, rice, and sugar. We have half a million of free colored people among us, enlightened, orderly, trained under republican institutions, but compressed and oppressed by an unrelenting white-labor competition. While Eli Thayer is organizing white emigration for the Territories of the Union, why may not some enterprising, sagacious black man organize a system of colored emigration to Central America and Yucatan? "Negro labor," it is assumed, is necessary to tropical production; let the free colored people supply what is needed in those countries. They will find the way open—no hostile competition—a warm welcome—kind consideration. They can there demonstrate that cotton, sugar, rice, can be profitably raised without slave labor, and that it is not necessary to degrade one race to secure the elevation and comfort of another. Pre-occupying these extensive planting regions with flourishing colonies, a stop will be put to filibustering and Slavery-propagandism, and an asylum opened for those of their brethren whom the States inclined by humanity or self-interest to Emancipation, may release from bondage.

But, our article is already too long. When we commenced it, by taking the letter of our Minister at Paris for a text, we had no idea of travelling over so much ground; but the subject referred to by him without a single conception of its real nature or bearings, is full of interest, involves various questions of the greatest importance, and deserves more attention than it has yet received.

REPUBLICAN PATRIOTISM.

It is not our habit to suspect our fellow-citizens when they utter sentiments of patriotism, and give vent to apparently honest expressions of indignation against those who wantonly assail the Government and People of the United States. It is delightful, indeed, to hear our Republican friends declare how valiantly they will maintain the honor of the Republic, and how they will put down its foes. Republicans do not often utter patriotic sentiments; and so we are more inclined to commend their conduct in reference to the outrages recently committed upon our merchant ships in the West India waters.

But, after all, we cannot forego the opportunity of recording a prophecy upon this matter: We believe our whole Republican family, under one pretext or another, should the search question become serious, will turn their backs upon the Government, and trot over to the British side.—*Washington Union.*

The *Union* and its party are disappointed. How they would have exulted, had Republican members of Congress pursued the course taken by the *Post* and *Tribune*, of New York—had they apologized for the British outrages, advocated the British claim to visitation, and declaimed about the overwhelming power of England! "Behold these sectional fanatics! would have been their language; "willing, in their mad crusade against Southern institutions, to sacrifice the honor and interests of their country, to join with its enemies, to pander to British schemes of universal empire! Now, as always, it is left to the South and to the Democratic Party to maintain the honor of the flag and the independence of the Republic."

Better counsels controlled our Republican friends in Congress. Much as they abhor the slave trade and deplore the prostitution of our flag, they could not, without denying a principle, vital to the freedom of the seas and the independence of sovereign States, admit for a moment the British claim. They saw no conflict of duties. They were ready to maintain alike the *independence* and *honor* of the flag—to resist the establishment on the high seas, of a despotism; and at the same time to hunt down piracy and the slave trade. So they thought and spoke; and the unscrupulous Pro-Slavery Party, which had fondly hoped to win glory by a cheap display of patriotism, found, much to their mortification, a wonderful unanimity of opinion. There was no chance at all for setting themselves up as the peculiar champions of the country's honor. In fact, the patriotic sentiment was so strong, that Mr. Buchanan and his friends are constrained to play the part of conservatives. They have the responsibility, and it is for them to indicate what is to be done. So far, their policy is to await the result of communications with the British Government, and meantime to obtain from the Senate a calm assertion of the true doctrine in relation to the claim of visitation, and a firm expression of the determination of the American People. The Republicans make no opposition—they unite in support of this policy. Does the Administration want anything more? What impertinence, then, to be casting imputations in advance upon a Party which has shown at least equal zeal for the honor of the country, equal jealousy of its rights!

The *Union* has indulged itself in a "prophecy." We will indulge ourselves in an assertion and an opinion. The assertion is, that the Administration *has not asked and does not desire* the passage of any law investing it with any more power than it now possesses in relation to British outrages, which is merely *to protect American vessels against visitation, not to punish* the outrage. The opinion is, that if it should ask a Law of that kind, *such would be the opposition of a large portion of the delegation from the South*, that it could be enacted *only by the aid of the Republican Party.*

TUESDAY IN CONGRESS.

In the House, the Senate amendment to the appropriation bill (miscellaneous) was taken up. The Senate's amendment provided that the Post Office advertising should not be given to the Washington papers. The House Committee of Ways and Means recommended that they be published in *one* Washington journal. The House refused to sustain the committee's amendment, but voted in the Senate amendment.

In the Senate, the Gaines case came up in the morning hour. After which, the House army appropriation bill was taken up and considered.

☞ The Tory party in England retains office, according to the latest advices, still longer, because it has taken strong ground against the Palmerstonian policy in India, which was altogether too severe to suit the Liberals of England. So the Derby Ministry is still in power, and Lord Palmerston, and especially Governor General Canning, of India, are rebuked.

OREGON.—The election in Oregon for State and Territorial officers, also to provide for the contingency of Oregon's non-admission into the Union, was to have taken place last Monday. The Democrats were divided, and there was a chance that the Republicans would triumph. If Oregon were admitted now, the prospect of two Republican Senators from the other side of the Pacific would be quite fair. Can this be one reason why certain Democrats oppose her admission?

The Review.

Wyoming: Its History, Stirring Incidents, and Romantic Adventures. By George Peck, D. D. With illustrations New York: Harper & Brothers. 1858. For sale by Taylor & Maury, Washington, D. C.

This is one of those volumes which, when a person has taken up, he finds it difficult to lay down again till he has finished it. It is full of stirring adventure, sad and mournful chapters of life's histories, examples of fortitude and heroic courage, often guided and sustained by a firm trust in God, such as belonged to many of the hardy pioneers who, from a childhood of Christian privileges and the comparative luxuries of an Eastern home, plunged into the then wilderness on the banks of the Susquehanna, and faced all the perils and terrors of Indian warfare. Campbell has immortalized Wyoming by his strains of poetry; Chapman, Stone, and Miner, have been her historians; and records of individual prowess and detached incidents are found scattered in different contributions to the pioneer literature of our country. But the tale, as here told, and the new sources of information, in part, which Dr. Peck has brought out, and the form he has given to his book, imparts to it a freshness that renders it one deeply fraught with interest even to those already acquainted with the previous works, and which will no doubt strongly engage the attention of thousands more who, for the first time, learn of these struggles, trials, and bitter experiences, of former days. Few who gaze on the valley, with its cities, villages, marts of trade and industry, its churches, academies, and evidences of high and refined civilization, or even who look on the antiquated dwellings that here and there stand where they stood more than a half century ago, could dream that here was the scene of murderous strife, savage cruelty, and that these spots were once so drenched in blood and rung with the war whoop and yell of human fiends. The marvellous story of Frances Slocum, made a captive at five years of age, sought for in vain so long, and, after 57 years, again found, thoroughly transformed into an Indian woman, which, twenty years ago, or more, we read in the public journals, forms not one of the least interesting chapters of this work, in which, too, her likeness is given, among the numerous illustrations.

The whole volume is put together skilfully, and furnishes, besides its main topics, a variety of collateral information, that adds to its usefulness. It has, too, an index, by which reference may be made easily to its subjects, and the mechanical execution is such as it ought to be.

The Power of Grace; or, Incidents and Narratives of Wonderful Conversions, in Answer to Prayer. Designed for Sabbath-School Teachers, Pastors, and Parents. New York: C. M. Saxton. 1858. For sale by William Ballantyne, Washington, D. C.

In the present state of religious feeling, it is natural to expect a variety of books designed to meet it. The volume before us is one of the number. With many good things and particular portions that may engage the attention, the book before us bears marks of hasty compilation. There is a mixing up of the imaginative with the true, and by means of a double-leaded, short-lined, and wide-margined page, a good-sized volume is made out of a comparatively small amount of matter.

The title, too, is somewhat deceptive, confined as it is to a single subject, and yet

WASHINGTON TERMS.

The Philadelphia *Pennsylvanian* says that there is great difficulty at the White House about the foreign appointments; that Mr. Slidell is the man for the French Court, and that Mrs. Slidell would do the honors of the position very gracefully. The *Pennsylvanian*, an orthodox Administration paper, further says, that Mr. Dodge is entirely unfit for his place at the Spanish Court, and that somebody must replace him.

The removal of the postmaster at Clavsland, Ohio, and the Collector at Chicago, both accused of sympathizing with Mr. Douglas, has reopened the war between the Douglas men and the Administration. The Cincinnati *Commercial* says Mr. Douglas will swasp the State of Illinois in the fall election, while other journals claim that the Republicans will triumph.

Mr. Collins, the proprietor of the line of stasmships with that name, has been in Washington the past week, endeavoring to prooure a contract with the Government to carry the mails from New York to Southampton.

News has been received at the Departments, of great distrubnces in Arizona. Eight or ten murders had been committed, there hsing no power to punish the offenders.

Lord Napier sent a special messengar to the Admiral of the North American fleet, last week, and it is reported, with instructions to put an end to "the outrages in the Gulf."

It is the intention of J. Glancy Jones, in accordance with the views of the Administration, early next session, to propose a revision of the whole postal system, foreign and domestic, in order to bring the service, which now costs the Government some five millions per annum, within the receipts of the Department, and make it self-supporting.

Secretary Toucey says the Navy Department cannot get along without a greater addition to the navy than ten sloops. The necessities of the service actually demand twenty, or more, in order to occupy the stations where American men-of-war are needed, and afford proper facilities for the relief and repair of vessels.

The Washington correspondent of the *N. Y. Times* is responsible for the subjoined bit of gossip respecting Mr. Douglas and the President:

"The rupture between the President and Judge Douglas has been rendered more durable by recent occurrences. A number of very extreme Southern men, who not yet prepared to break with the Northern Democracy, waited upon the President last week, and represented to him that they could not afford to drive Mr. Douglas into an alliance with the Republicans, or to permit him to be crushed by them. It was therefore necessary to the cause of the South that Mr. Douglas should be returned to the Senate, and that event might depend upon the patronage of the Administration. Mr. Buchanan instantly betrayed strong and vindictive feeling. He declared that he would not stay his hand; that it was no longer desirable to keep terms with Douglas; that he had failed the Democracy on a critical occasion, and was no more to be trusted by it than John P. Hale, and that he should proceed to turn out of office all his followers, whom he could reach. He therefore resumed the work which he had suspended in March, and immediately turned out three of the most effective and able friends of Mr. Douglas as a Senatorial and Presidential candidate in the Northwest."

INSTRUCTIONS TO DENVER.

Gen. Cass has sent out his instructions to Gov. Denver, of Kansas, as in duty bound, under the English Kansas bill. We quote an important paragraph from it:

"Under the second section of the act, yourself, the District Attorney, the Secretary of the Territory, the President of the Council, and the Speaker of the House of Representatives, are constituted a Board of Commissioners, to conduct this important election. The President has entire confidence that, so far as in you lies, the election will be fairly and properly conducted. Your power and your duties are sufficiently pointed out by the act and by your previous instructions. It is greatly to be desired that the five Commissioners should act in concert in all their proceedings. The President above all things desires that there should be a fair expression of the popular will on this important question; and that any person who may commit or attempt to commit the frauds punishable under the act may be prosecuted with the utmost rigor of the law. It is to be hoped that the people of Kansas, relieved from all outside influences, may be left to decide the question for themselves, whether they will immediately come into the Union under the provisions of the act, or will remain in a Territorial condition until their population is equal to the number required for a Representative in Congress."

Gen. Cass advised that Gov. Denver should not convene the board till the new District Attorney was appointed, but his advice was not followed. The board met and very wisely appointed the first Monday in August as the election day for the Territory. The people are then to vote upon the Lecompton Constitution. The day chosen is also the day for the State election in Missouri, and the Border Ruffians will be wanted at home then.

IMPORTANT DECISION.

The High Contrt of Errors in Mississippi has made an important decision upon the subject of the rights of free negroes in other States to property bequeathed to them in that State.

The case was that of James Brown, a slaveholder, who died, leaving a will by which his property was to be sold, land and slaves, and the proceeds, after paying his debts, to be subject to the draft of Jerome and Francis Brown. The said Browns were the children of the testator *by one of his slaves*, and were, of course, slaves under Mississippi law. They were sent to Ohio in 1850, by their father, and formally emancipated, and were settled in Indiana, with their mother, at the time of the testator's death.

The conrt decided, that if the testator had taken his slaves to Cincinnati with the purpose of freeing them, and *afterwards bringing them back to Mississippi*, that they could not have held property, and that the act of emancipation would have been void. But, inasmuch as the slaves were honestly carried and left in a free State, the court decided that they were entitled to receive the property of their master and father—in other words, that the will of James Brown, the testator, is valid. The court directed the executor to proceed to the fulfilment of the trust therein imposed upon him. It decided that there is nothing in our laws or policy which prohibits the sale of the land and slaves of the testator, and the deposit of the net proceeds, after paying his debts, in the vaults of a foreign bank, to be paid over to the objects of the testator's bounty, even though they are free negroes; that free negroes are only debarred by Mississippi laws of the rights secured to them by the laws of other States in which they reside, or when the exercise of those rights is prohibited by positive law, or would be directly dangerous to slaves, or present a mischievous example. Had the testator left his lands and slaves directly to these free negroes, a different question would have been presented from the one actually presented and decided.

NEW ORLEANS.—The American candidate for Mayor has been elected Mayor of New Orleans, by a small majority. The Vigilance Committee still retained the command of the city, at our latest advices.

THE MISSISSIPPI SLAVE TRADE

We copied a statement into our columns a few weeks since, to the effect that the slave trade with Africa was reopened on Pearl river, Mississippi. This statement was subsequently contradicted in several Southern journals. The Charlottesville (Va.) *Advocate* says:

"We have seen, once or twice, recently, newspaper paragraphs of the effect that the African slave trade was successfully carried on with some parts of the Gulf States. As these reports were subsequently denied, and because we could not think that such a project could be successful in this the nineteenth century, and in evident violation of the laws of the United States and the sentiment of civilization, we concluded that the reports were unfounded. Such is not, however, the fact. We are told by a most reliable gentleman, who was an eye witnss of what he tells, that saveral cargoes of native Africans have been landed within the last twelve months upon the banks of Pearl river, Mississippi. They were, it is true, brought over under the mere pretext of indentured apprenticeship; but no one doubts that they are, and will continue to be, slaves in every sense of the word, and for all time. These negroes were scattered through the southern counties of Mississippi; they were sold at a low figurs, but still high enough to make the enterpriss a profitable one for those engaged in it. As soon as they are placed in the field, the master selects some reliable negro man of his own force, to whom the newly-imported African is chained, and whom he is compelled to imitate and follow in the day's work."

The Virginia papers are pretty good authority in thss matters. They are interested to know if the African slave traffic has re-commenced. If it *has*, Virginia negroes will decline in price. Still we doubt the report.

WASHINGTON.—The municipal election took place in this city on Monday last, and resulted in the election J. G. Berrett, Dem., by nearly six hnndred majority. Common Council almost entirely Democratic. There was a little fighting in the fourth ward, in the neighborhood of the city Hall. Four or five persons were shot, but no one was killed. A. R. Allen, one of the special police, was wounded by a bullet. The defeated candidate received more votes than a *successful* candidate has ever before received. The public works were *everywhere* suspended, to enable the workmen to vote the Democratic ticket.

CALIFORNIA.—The Lecomptonites in California, having control of the Legislature, and fearing a general election upon the heels of the Lecompton contest in Congress, postponed the election of members of Congress one year. An exchange estimates the strength of the Broderick Democrats in the State at 40,000, that of the Republicans at 30,000, and the strength of the Gwin or "Chivalry" Democracy at 20,000 leaving 10,000 more of floating voters.

The Homestead Bill is defeated for the present session of Congress. Senator Johnson's bill, in the Senate, granted 160 acres of land, free to every actual settler. There are too many land speculators about Washington and the country to permit the passage of such a bill at this time, hnt it will have its day of triumph yet, and, we trust, ere long.

☞ There are reports that Governor Cumming has been driven out of Salt Lake by the Mormons.

CONSERVATISM AND PROGRESS.

Are you a conservative? So am I. Are you a progressive? So am I. So every true man should be conservative and progressive: conservative of all that is good, progressive toward all that is better. This is the spirit of our holy religion. "Prove all things; *hold fast that which is good*." "Therefore, leaving the principles of the doctrine of Christ, *let us go on unto perfection*."

Progressive men and progressive institutions are alike liable to two temptations: one to relapse into inactive conservatism; the other, to urge progressivism into rashness. Do they succeed? Success connsels conservatism. Do they fail? Failure prompts to efforts desperate. These temptations should be resisted and overcome. Providence never stops and is never hurried. Its march is the majestic calmness of Him who walks, only walks, even though it be on the wings of the wind, in the highway of the hurricane. Do not sit down, but in a doft, behind Providence; neither rush, like a maniac, before it; but be watchful and prayerful, and so *follow* Providence. THOMAS H. STOCKTON.

IOWA CORRESPONDENCE.

LE CLAIRE, IOWA, *May* 31, 1858.

To the Editor of the National Era:

The people of Iowa have suddenly hacome much interested in the study of geology; and some of them are obtaining a *practical*, if not *profitable*, acquaintance with some of the mysteries of that science. From all quarters of the State come rumors of fresh discoveries of the precions metal. Sandy ravines and pebbly hrooks are being explored by eager fortune-seekers, who, with ardent faith, believe that

"Wants not her hidden treasures, gems, and gold."

Much of the reports from the so-called gold regions is mere rumor or exaggeration. Thus this city was set in commotion by the discovery just outside its limits of a small quantity of a substance which looked like gold, stood several tests like gold, yet subsequently appeared was not gold, hut was—iron pyritas. Still, it is beyond a doubt that the "real stuff" is being found in small quantities.

In Warren county, South river is being dammed, to enable the "miners" to search its bed. At Rattlesnake Band, fifteen miles below Des Moines, a large number of men are washing the sand.

Prof. Weiser, President of Central College, has written a letter, expressing the opinion that the geological formation of the earth in Iowa warrants the conclusion that gold exists to some extent in the State. The most reliable accounts represent Clark, Polk, Union, and Warren counties, as containing the best "diggins."

Notwithstanding the entire absence of authenticated accounts of profitable digging, numbers are leaving the river towns to "try their luck." To day and to-morrow, two companies expect to start for Pike's Peak.

Every friend of humanity will be glad to learn that the tide of public opinion throughout this State is slowly but surely setting against the organized bands of "Regulators" who for several months past have administered the code of "Judge Lynch" to sundry horse-thieves, &c., in Clinton, Jackson, and Cedar counties. The decided stand taken by the late Gov. Grimes last summer, acted as a damper to those self-constituted "guardians of justice;" and now, their final suppression is hastened and rendered certain by the enaction of a tragedy at Iowa City, which, though not perpetrated by the "Regulators," is the legitimate fruit of their existance.

A barn having been fired near Iowa City by an incendiary, a Mr. Boyd Wilkinson was *suspected* as the guilty party; whereupon he was seized by a band of thirty men, bound hand and foot, and taken to the hank of the Iowa river, on the 11th instant, and there designedly or *accidentally* drowned. Twelve of the hand were arrested, examined, and committed to await their trial. In the mean time, they have been removed to Davsnport for safe-keeping.

The war against the Rock Island Bridge is not yet ended. Another suit has been entered against the Bridge Company to secure the removal of the structure as a nuisance; and the case is set for trial at Burlington on the 29th of June. It is high time this matter was forever settled, and the jealousies of St. Louis bigots silenced. That the bridge is an inconvenience to steamhoats, at certain stages of water, may be admitted; but that it is at any time a "serious obstruction," has not and cannot be proved; while its inestimable advantages to Central Iowa, and are long to Kansas and the whole region westward, must and will secure its permanency, in spite of all opposition.

The most fruitful topic of conversation is the weather. It is no longer wet and cold, but *is* wet and warm. May has not favored us with *three consecutive days* of clear weather; hnt we look to warm, loving June, with confidence and hope, as the favored messenger of old Sol, to develop the golden grain.

The substitution of *w* for *t*, in my letter of the 7th inst., made a paragraph unintelligible. The Mississippi and Missouri railroad "is *not* being pushed on westward, much to the disappointment of all saws those interested in the growth of Iowa City," &c. E. R.

KANSAS NEWS.

The telegraph announced some days ago that the Board of Commissioners under the English conference law had agreed upon the first Monday in August as the day on which to hold the election on the Lecompton Constitution. The day is an opportuna one, as the State election occurs in Missouri at the same time, and few, if any, voters can than be spared by the Border Ruffians to operate in Kansas than at any other period.

The first Monday of August was secured by the presidents of the Boards, Babcock, Deitzler, and Wier, who called upon Gov. Denver, and urged him to hold a meeting of the Board. The Governor objected, and showed a letter of instructions from Secretary Cass, in which this gentleman expressed the hope that Governor Denver would convene the Board nntil the successor of Mr. Wier (Mr. Davis) is qualified." To this it was replied, that Mr. Wier was certainly Attorney General of Kansas as yet, and that the majority of the Board were ready and willing to convene, hut were determined to do so. Mr. Davis could not of conrse qualify until he had received the official appointment, and if that was delayed it was the fault of the Administration and nobody else. The Governor reluctantly yielded, and Mr. Wier, whose sympathies are understood to be with Babcock and Deitz'er, as against Gov. Denver and Walsh, although decapitated, it seems, possessed vitality enough to do a good deed. Perhaps Denver, Walsh, and Davis, will undo it under further Washington instructions.—*Cleveland Leader.*

The vote on the Leavenworth Constitntion was a light one, hnt it seems that the result is a ratification. Here 412 voted for it, and 256 against it. A proposition to confer the privilege of suffrage upon negroes was rejected in the county by 53 to 1. The votes upon this proposition and upon the Constitution may be assumed as a fair index of the vote in the Territory at large. The indifference manifested by the people on this occasion is attributable to the belief that even the ratification of the Lecomptin Constitution will impart sufficient vitality to it, as the legality of the act calling the Convention is denied by Gov. Denver.

I have great pleasure in informing you *there is not the slightest chance of the people of Kansas accepting the English bill. Even the Pro-Slavery faction will vote against it.* On no question is there such unanimity as on the Lecompton Constitution in its Protean forms; and it is last from anything else thing, if possible, more obnoxious than ever. Whatever has been said of the detestation and disgnst with which the people of Kansas regard this thrice d—d iniquity, any one who visits the Territory can corroborate. The land bribe has hut superadded contempt to indignation and hatred. When admitted into the Union, Kansas will get the customary land grants, and they will not decline in value during the intervening period.

It has been doubtless with a view of making capital for the English bill, that the President has made some changes for the better in his Kansas officials. Emory, who killed Phillips, and who was Register of the Land Office at Ogden, has been removed, and Ira Norris, of Weston, appointed in his place. Jesse Moran, of Platte, supersedes B F. Robinson as Indian (Delaware) Agent. W. Wier, Attorney General, gives place to A. C. Davis, of Wyandott, and Dourke, who held the office of Register of the Land Office at Fort Scott, for his brother-in-law. J. W. Clarke, who killed Barber, and who is Indian (Pottawatomie) Agent, has been removed. I have not heard of the name of Dourke's successor.—*Leavenworth Correspondent of the St. Louis Democrat.*

We have sent sixty muskets and Hall's rifles to-day, to the companies now in the field, and would send more if we had them, but Lawrence is now left more poorly armed than the country at large. We are fully deficient everywhere in arms, ammunition, and money. There are no public arms in the Territory—not a dollar of money for the common defence—the season of planting is now flattering as with its genial breezes—all our able bodied brothers Kansas have been active as minute-men the whole Spring—some of them have not been able to sleep at home for weeks, and Captain Montgomery has not dared to sleep at his own house for the last eight months. The fight is now, when the crisis waxes, every man responds willingly, and the unanimous impulse in those counties is *liberty or death*. Day after day, those half-fed, half-clupped men perform the honest part of a citizen soldiery with a zeal that stirs hearts. If any men living deserve the lasting gratitude and respect of the entire people of Kansas, it is Capt. Montgomery and his little party. Still, how nicely have they been traduced and slandered! They have borne the censure for every crime committed in Kansas nearly for the last three months, when every charge of the character is false and infamous. They *have not* been a gang of thieves and robbers; but the facts are, Montgomery has endeavored to enforce a moral and humane discipline, and whenever he could ascertain that any of his party had stolen or robbed, they were invariably dressed in the process and belonging to the company, deprived of their horses and arms, and expelled from the company. There have been several instances of this character, and these discharged desperadoes, thus rebuked, have organized on their own hook, and taken to robbing and stealing as a profession. Wherever they go, they call themselves Montgomery's party, by way of retaliation. For this he suffers, and Brown and others lash him with a vengeance. Last Friday and Saturday night, not less than six horses were taken from this vicinity by the same banditti, and some of their owners have identified hoth horses and thieves, and are still in pursuit of them.

Sheriff Walker started yesterday for the south to arrest the murderer, Brockett, and says he will employ Montgomery's army as a *posse*, if necessary. Gov. Denver went again to Fort Leavenworth yesterday, after receiving a dispatch from Judge Williams, of Fort Scott. He intends to start all the troops that can be spared from Fort Leavenworth immediately, and has promised to meet Sheriff Walker in Bourbon County on Friday. He *talks* very bravely of the Government to show the Governor of Missouri that his people cannot invade our Territory and murder our citizens with impunity, and says he will find that *he has got no Shannon to deal with* this time. *We hope* he is in earnest, too, for, if he does, troops in the vicinity have heretofore been such kingly hurriers to our freedom, and have so unmistakably aided our oppressors, that we have very small faith in their services at present. We will remain pervious, however, to better evidence. We are satisfied that this invasion has been maturing the last three months, and something worse is intended than a little midnight skirmishing. While they have abandoned Kansas in the main, they intend to conquer the southern portion of it, drive out the Free-State inhabitants, and thereby fit it up for an immaculate union with the slave South, by annexing it to the Cherokee Territory, and then making a new State. It is past 2 o'clock, and I cannot prolong.—*Lawrence Cor. N. Y. Times.*

LEAVENWORTH CITY, *May* 27, 1858.

The latest from the South (so the present disturbed region of Kansas is called) proclaims that Osawatomie was threatened with invasion by three hundred Missourians, fully armed and mounted. The people of the town and surrounding country were preparing to offer a vigorous resistance. Their experience does not dispose them to submit to sack and pillage a second time. Two messengers from them arrived in hot haste yesterday in Lawrence, with dispatches calling urgently for arms. Sixty muskets were promptly sent to them. They asked for no men, their organized force, if armed, being adequate to repel the Missourians. The letter asking for the arms was addressed to General Lane, and signed by Brigadier General McDaniel, who has succeeded Montgomery in command of the militia in that "brigadier district." It will be seen by the following correspondence, which appears in the Lawrence *Republican* of this date, Montgomery was deprived of his command as far back as the 15th of February. It is therefore doing gross injustice to the militia of Kansas to implicate them in the guilt of those predatory hands known as Montgomery's men. The latest accounts represent that individual himself in the darkest colors.—*the St. Louis Democrat.*

MILITARY ORDERS.
HEADQUARTERS KANSAS MILITIA,
Lawrence, Feb. 18, 1858.

To Captains James Montgomery and O. P. Bayne, 1st Regiment Kansas Militia:

You are required forthwith, on receipt of this order, to disband the companies under your command. Charges of a serions character, impugning your conduct as an officer, are on file in this office. The service and cause requires their investigation. You will instanter report yourselves here in person. The person and property of the actual settler, without reference to political opinions, must be respected. If this order has been disobeyed, restitution must be had without delay.

J. H. LANE, *Maj. Gen.*

HEADQUARTERS KANSAS MILITIA,
Lawrence, April 5, 1858.

General McDaniel:

SIR: I am directed by General Lane to say to you that the exclsive jurisdiction over all troops and military movements within your brigade district is in your hands alone.

Moreover, that there was an order issued, February 18, ordering officers Bayne and Montgomery immediately to disband their respective commands, and report themselves to headquarters to answer to charges against their conduct; and that the property and rights of all citizens, irrespective of political opinions, must be protected; and that wherever this order has been disobeyed, immediate restitution must be made. You will consider this order as now in your hands.

Captain Bayne did report himself, hnt of Captain Montgomery nothing has been heard.

By order of Major General Lane.

E. B. WHITMAN, *Secretary pro tem.*

GOVERNOR DENVER'S ACTION.

Governor Denver remains in this city until Captain Walker, (Sheriff of Douglas county,) whom he dispatched to the scene of strife, reports to him, when it is presumed he will take active measures for restoring law and order. I learn that the Governor strongly urges the people who are exposed to Montgomery's forays to organize and rid themselves of him in the most summary manner they can devise. The advice of the Governor, I understand, other counsels notwithstanding, is much in vogue in California.

Mr. Hughes, of Indiana, challenged Mr. Harris, of Illinois, for language used by him in debate. The latter promptly accepted the challenge, hut, afterwards, explanations were made, satisfactory to both gentlemen.

The faneral of Senator Henderson, of Texas, took place on Sunday, from the Capitol. A large concourse of people was present.

More steamers have been ordered to the Gulf, with what instructions does not yet appear. It is understood that the President desires to protract the session of Congress on this account.

The Republicans of the 21st Congressional district of Pennsylvania have nominated J. R. Moorhead for Congress. In the 22d, Robert McKnight is put in nomination.

THE REVOLUTION IN NEW ORLEANS.

New Orleans, June 4—8 *A. M.*—Our city is in a state of great excitsment, and collision and bloodshed is immediately anticipated. The Vigilance Committee have established their headquarters at the Arsenal, and have been engaged during the night in erecting cotton hecricades to resist the attempt expected to be made by the city authorities to regain possession of the Arsenal.

Jackson square presents quite a warlike appearance, with its cotton defences.

The Vigilance Committee having possession of all the ammunition of the city, the authorities have been compelled to resort to the manufacture of cartridgas before commencing hostilities, but are now nearly ready for the assaut on the Arsenal, with a large force of military.

In the mean time, efforts are making to restore harmony and prevent collision. Political animosity being the gist of the difficulty, this is no easy matter on the eve of an election.

10 *A. M.*—The excitement increases, and military preparations for the conflict are every where to be seen. Old firearms are being hunted up, and armed bodies are marching east in every direction. Both parties are making extensive preparations, and a bloody conflict is anticipated before the day is over.

The Mayor's forces are unorganized, whilst the Vigilance Committee have appointed Major Duncan, late of the army, as their commander, and have been largely reinforced. They are well organized and drilled, and refuse to listen to any proposition for the restoration of harmony. All business is suspended.

The following is the proclamation issned hy the Vigilance Committee yesterday morning:

Citizens of New Orleans: After years of disorder, outrage, and unchacked assassination, the people, unable and unwilling either to bow down in unresisting submission to the will of ruffians, or to abandon the city in which their business, their social sympathies, and their affections cluster, have at length risen in their might, have quietly taken possession of the Arsenal and buildings in Jackson square, and have established there the headquarters of a Vigilance Committee, pledging each to the other to maintain the rights inviolable of every peaceful and law-abiding citizen; to restore public order, and to protect life and property, as they may determine, such notorious robbers and assassins as the arm of the law, either from the infidelity of its public servants or the inefficiency of the laws themselves, has left unwhipped of justice.

For the present, the ordinary machinery of police justice is superseded—the Mayor and the Recorders, we understand, yielding up the power they confess their inability to exercise for the preservation of the public peace and the security of property; and the Vigilance Committee will, therefore, provisionally act in their stead, administering to each and every malefactor the punishment due to his crimes, without hesitancy, prejudice, or political bias.

All citizens who have sympathies with this movement, and who think the time has come when New Orleans shall be governed like all other well-ordered and civilized communities, will report themselves without delay at the principal office, where the character of this movement will be explained and the determination of the people more fully made known.

All has been remarkably quiet thus far. All will continue noiselessly, dispassionately, and justly. But the ruffians who have dyed our streets with the gore of unoffending citizens, and spread terror among the peaceable, orderly, and well-disposed, *must leave or perish.*

So the people have determined.

VOX POPULI VOX DEI

The Vigilance Committee have triumphed without bloodshed, the Mayor having resigned the municipal authority into their hands.

The city is now quiet, and the crowd has withdrawn from Canal street. The old police have been disbanded, and a special police of one thousand men have been appointed by the Vigilance Committee.

What will be the next move under the new regime of things is difficult to say; hut it is presumed that certain parties will receive notice to leave the city by the first hoat. The election takes place on Monday.

The excitement consequent upon the election for municipal officers, to come off on Monday next, is most intense, and ere that period arrives, fearful results are apprehended. The Vigilance Committee, three hundred strong, who have possession of the State arsenal and second district police office, are opposed to the American ticket, headed by Stith for Mayor, and are determined to defeat it if possible. Stith's party, however, have called out the Washington Artillery, taken possession of the other armories, and are preparing for a struggle. The Vigilants have seized the notorious Gallatin, and have now several streets strongly hariricaded. They are also well armed with Minie rifles, and have cannon ready loaded and aimed for instant use. Several arrests have been made by them, hnt a number of Vigilants also have been taken on warrants filled hy the Mayor for their arrest. To the present writing, no collision has taken place. Business is almost at a stand.

New Orleans, June 5.—There is fresh excitement here this morning, indicating that the Vigilance Committee will not be allowed to retain undisputed possession of the city. A placard was issued during the night by the American party for a mass meeting this morning. They assembled in large numhars, and were addressed by Col. Christy, Mr. Smith, the American candidate for Mayor, and by Col. Henry, of Nicaragua notoriety, calling them to arms, and volunteering to lead a charge against the Vigilant Committee, at noon, which was received with an enthusiasm that indicated a determined and powerful resistance.

The Vigilance Committee are organizing to retain their power, having 1,500 men enrolled, and quite an excitement exists in the community. A civil war seems inevitable before the close of the election on Monday night.

Mr. J. P. White, who furnished the cotton bales to the Vigilance Committee, with which they erected their barricads in Jackson square, was dangrously wounded last night in front of the City Hotel.

Business of all kinds is nearly suspended, and the state of affairs seeme to be progressing from bad to worse.

LATER FROM EUROPE.

Halifax, June 2.—The steamer America arrived at Halifax this morning, with dates from Liverpool on the 22d ult.

In the House of Commons, Mr. Cardwell had withdrawn his motion censuring Ministers, which was regarded as a virtual triumph for the Government.

The Government of Naples had in effect rejected the demands of England for an idemnity to the imprisoned engineers. Naples was actnaly proceeding with military defences.

There was nothing late from India.

Sir Joseph Hamley's horse Headsman win the Derby cnp.

The steamer Kangaroo arrived out on the 22d.

The French squadron in the Pacific is to be reinforced.

It is said that instructions have been sent to the French Envoy at China, to treat with the Imperial Commissioner, without going to China.

The Lancaster, *Post* says the King of Naples recently applied to the Emperor of Russia for a passport, owing to fears of the French and British Governments.

A Russian *Courier*, from St. Petersburgh, reached Hamburg on the 14th of May.

The correspondence between Sir James Outram and the Governor General of India is published, showing conclusively that Gen. Outram earnestly and strongly protested against the Governor's confiscation policy. This correspondence, it is supposed, led to the withdrawal of Mr. Cardwell's motion of censure.

The contract between the Government and the Atlantic Telegraph Company has hesn signed and sealed by both parties. It covers twenty five years from the time the cable is successfnlly laid.

The telegraph fleet had all assembled at Plymouth, ready to make the experimental trip.

Brazil has contracted a loan with the Rothschilds for a million and a half pounds sterling, for the completion of the Don Pedro railroad.

Prince Napoleon will go out as Governor of Algeria and Colonies.

Turkey has consented to the settlement of the Montenegro difficulty, in consequence of the threats of France to acknowledge the independence of the latter.

A white slave girl from Kentucky, the daughter of her master, lately escaped to Cincinnati. Her father had promised her that she should be free, and had made a will to that effect, but, after his death, the will could not be found, having probably been destroyed by the pure white heirs. The girl was sold with the other negroes, and her new master treating her very harshly, she escaped to Ohio. She found no difficulty in making her escape by public conveyance, as she was so white as not to be suspected of African blood, and well dressed and intelligent. At Cincinnati, she found a home in a Christian family, and became interested in the revival meetings. She had been there but a short time, when her half brother arrived in pursuit of her with a Kentucky officer, and hearing of her attendance on the revival meetings, hoth visited the meetings unknowingly, and made the discovery of interest in religion. At length they discovered their victim at an evening prayer meeting, and attempted to seize her on the way home. But the girl showed fight, and some of the sisters coming to her aid, the slave-hunters were surrounded and detained on the sidewalk, while the white slave girl made her escape. In a few days, she wrote hack from Canada that she had arrived in a country where white Christians treat her as if she were human. Her brother regrets his sister's loss to the extent of some $1,200.

An officer on the United States ship Dale, one of our African squadron, writes that fever and cranium were among the gifts, now when the crew had to submit; the first lieutenant died, and at one time there were eighty cases of fever on hoard. The Dale is one of the slow old ships, like the African squadron generally, three hundred tons hnrden, and York, we believe, Madeira to take in water and provisions; by the time they get to the African coast, their supplies are nearly exhausted, and they put back to Madeira again; so they vibrate slowly between the Madeira and the coast of Africa, keeping out of the way of the slave ships, and doing as little to embarrass the slave trade as is required of them. The officer on the Dale, describing the inactivity and ennui of the service, writes:

"There is no recreation for the mind, no exercise for the body, nothing to eat, and nowhere to go. No cities to visit; no civilization; no churches; no divine worship. To he kept in such a condition for two years will make a man a heathen."

The oldest woman in Michigan, Mrs. Villette, of Lasalle, Munroe county, was hnried on Wednesday morning in the Catholic hnrying ground. She was 112 years of age, and had lived in that region the better part of a century. Her husband—who died at the age of one hundred and seventy years. She made her will in the latter part of the last century, and has outlived all the persons to whom she had bequeathed her property.

Since the war upon distillery milk commenced, the pastures around Brooklyn are filled with stump-tailed cows, sent out from the distillery stables to recruit. Some of them, turned out, it is said, they looked aghast at the verdant spectacle before them, having no recollection of anything of the sort. At length, after carefnl snuffing and cautiously tasting, they familiarized themselves with the article, and concluded that it might answer as a substitute for swill.

The committee of the New York city Government on swill-milk ascertained several new facts by their first day's investigations; one of which was, that the cows never get a drop of pure water from the time that they enter the stables, but must drink the swill or nothing. They also ascertained that the cows, when no longer valuable for milk—that is, when just on the point of dying—are hutchered and sold in the city markets as No. 1 heef.

The largest storehouse at Kansas city, Mo., owned by Robert Campbell, recently fell a mass of ruins. Three hundred tons of Government freight had just heen placed in it, and proved too much for it. Forty men had just finished delving out the freight, and got out the building, when the walls collapsed, and the whole building was almost instantly in ruins. Capt. Wheeler, of the quartermaster's department, was in the building, hnt escaped with only a sprained ankle.

A young lady in Cincinnati, Miss Fanny Hall, has received damages of $3,500 against one Vandergriff and other parties, for false imprisonment. She was confined for six months in the lunatic asylnm, through the instrumentality of the officers of the church to which she belonged, hnt was proved to be same, and was then discharged. The suit has been tried three times. The first jury gave her a verdict of $10,000. A new trial was had, and the jury failed to agree. The third time she was again successful, and this ends the case.

The New Hampshire Legislature assembled at Concord on Wednesday, and Republican officers were chosen in each branch—Austin F. Pike, President of the Senate, and N. B. Bryant, of Concord, Speaker of the House, by 194 votes to 112 for Harriman, Democrat, Henry O. Kent, Clerk, and Edward Sawyer, assistant. Mr. Hale will probably be re-elected U. S. Senator, though two other candidates, Messrs. M. Edwards, of Keene, and Amos Tuck, formarly of the House, are strongly prssssed against him.

A negro smancipated by his master's will at Charlottesville, Virginia, has voinntarily returned to Slavery, selecting a Mr. Hnckstep as his future master. He could not remain free in Virginia, hut was obliged to choose between Slavery and removal to a free State. The argument that the Pro-Slavery editors gst out of this incident does not account to a great deal. If they would let all the negroes have their choice between Freedom and Slavery, and thus make Slavery voluntary, very well. We should like to see it tried. The price of negroes still rules high. At a recent sheriff's sale at Huntsville, Alabama, fourteen negroes, several of them children, sold for over $10,000.

The Mexican news is about as usual—considerable indiscriminate fighting and robbery everywhere, and no decisive results—no party strong enough to do anything, and no confidence of the people in any party. The Zulaga Government, which still retains the show of authority at the capital, has sent Gen. Osollos, with a force of 1,500 recruits, and artillery, to attack Gen. Miramon at San Luis Potosi. At Cordova, the liberal forces were about to pay off their arrears and even plundering the people. On the 16th ult., a terrible explosion took place at Vsra Cruz, in an establishment for making munitions, by which about a dozen people were killed on the spot, three so severely injured that they died a few days afterwards, and many were wounded, so that they still remain in the hospital.

A second Wisconsin railroad swindle was brought to light by the late Legislature, hnt in the excitemsnt over the great La Crosse fraude, it has until this time been nearly lost sight of. It seems that the Milwaukie and Superior Railroad Company was a mere fraud from the start; that a few interested conspirators elected themselves to the board of directors, and made C. R. Alton president, on a nominal subscription of $100,000, *without one cent paid in*; that they (the directors) then voted to Alton $100,000 of full paid stock, for which he admits no services were rendered, hut which, according to agreement, he divided hack among the directors; and that, to crown the whole villainy, they raised $205,000 in farm mortgages and among the honest hut unsophisticated land-owners along the proposed road. These, with $120,000 of stock, called "cash subscribers," made a total of $525,000 in paper, which they turned out, without one cent of money paid into the treasury. The whole thing is thus proved to have heen a hare-faced swindle for the benefit of these operators, who had voted themselves salaries amounting to $20,000, hesides pickings and stealings.

Col. Forney of the Philadelphia *Press* has not taken his armor off, hnt thus boldly accepts the issue of the Buchanan Democracy to make Lecomptonism a test in the current campaign in Pennsylvania:

"If the Administration partisans would act like rational heings, they would of course withdraw their dead Lecompton from the field, a reeking carrion as it is, that smells to heaven. But they will not act as rational heings. The Lecompton issue is inserted upon, So let it be. Pennsylvania is to be made the hattle-ground in October. She was the hattle-ground in 1856 The theatre is the same, the actors the same, and the principle the same, with the difference that those who were elected to defend the principle now stand forth full armed against it. These latter have many potent influences on their side. A mass of patronage held out to a mass of expectants; a host of defenders, whose bread is safe only as they defend the wrong; a Senate ready to reject or ratify, as Democrats are fair or false. But we have great faith in the result. The people are aroused. The public mind is filled with light; the public heart with indignation. If there was a rapture in the strife of 1856, in honestly supporting an honest creed, what will it be in 1858, when that same creed, hasely deserted, implores for rescue and championship?"

The Governor of Pennsylvania has signed the act modifying the usury laws. It repeals the penalties for taking interest higher than 6 per cent. hnt makes 6 per cent. the highest amonnt collectable by law, unless suit for its recovery is brought within six months from the time of the transaction.

Edwin Plimmer, assistant editor of the *Advertiser*, at Portland, Me., died on Saturday, at the age of 33. He had been connected with several papers at Portland and at Chicago, Ill., and for a time with the Boston *Daily Advertiser.*

Will Cumback is renominated for Congress in his old district of Indiana, now represented by the illiterate Foley. He can hardly fail of coming hack again—certainly he should not.

The Albany *Evening Journal* mentions the gratifying fact, that in the recent election in Cumberland Anthony, of Rhode Island, New England becomes a nnit in the United States Senate. "Twelve Republican Senators, all good men and true," now represent six of the old thirteen States of the Union, to wit: the majority of the States that constituted the old Confederacy, and by which our liherties were achieved, represented by Senators who uphold the principles that brought us into existence as a nation."

The Administration still continues its war against the Douglas men in New York. Among the heads that have recently fallen into the hasket, are those of Robert W. Davis, U. S. Marshal for Michigan, who is superseded by John S. Bagg, and Mr. Fletcher, Postmaster at Warsaw, Ill., who makes way for J. J. Butler, who is "sound on the goose."

The Americans of St. Louis district, Mo., have nominated Luke Lea, for Congress. Lea is a son of Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Missouri, and an old Whig.

The exclnsion of the Bible from some of the ward schools in New York creates some excitement, and the "United Americans" of that city are endeavoring to reap the benefit of it, and are organizing to oppose the measure as an attempt of the Catholics to get the control of the schools.

Dr. Cheever said that recently the memoir of an interesting young lady, the daughter of a missionary, was sent to the Tract Society, hnt rejected for publication, because it contained a paragraph expressing her appreciation of the character of Little Eva, because she read the Bible to Uncle Tom.

One hundred and forty ministers of the M. E. Church South recently voted to *expunge* the article in their discipline condemning the *slave trade. Eight* only voted nay!

The indefatigable Mrs. Gaines is in Washington, actively urging her claims to a pension as the widow of Gen. Gaines.

Henningsen and Lockridge, two of Walker's filibustering heroes, have quarrelled, and want to fight, hnt Henningsen says he will not correspond with Lockridge because he continues his letters with a "Dr." This isn't quite equal to the man out West, who wouldn't vote for a certain man for judge, because he spelled judge with a small *j!*

Col. Pickens, of South Carolina, having been to Lonisville, and got a wife, in the person of the "fascinating and hrilliant Lucy Holcombe," (as a country editor who was hoy and girl with her enthusiastically says,) sailed for Europe last week, to take his place as United States Minister to Russia. Col. Thomas Seymour, of Hartford, may therefore soon be expected home, after an absence of nearly five years at that cold Court.

Who nominated Washington in the Continental Congress, for commander-in-chief of the Revolnitionary army? The popnlar story was that old John Adams did it, saying that he was a young man of equal modesty and bravery; hnt Irving's Life of Washington gives the credit to Mr. Johnson, a delegate of Maryland; while Bancroft, in his new volume on the Revolution, says Thomas of Maryland did it. Bancroft adds, that he was br

WASHINGTON, D.C.

SUCCESS OF THE ABSOLUTISTS. THEIR IDEALISM; WHAT AND WHENCE IS IT?

SPEECH OF HON. PHILEMON BLISS,

OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

MAY 24, 1858.

The House being in the Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union—

Mr. BLISS said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: During the crowded Lecompton debate, I refrained from seeking the floor, chiefly because I desired to see the new opponents of the Kansas outrages, and especially my colleagues, learn to stand, and, if possible, to walk alone; and also because the subject itself was one I could with great difficulty coolly consider. I could reason with a highwayman, if I had no more effective weapon; I might also remonstrate with a pickpocket; but I could find no fit words for discussing, in a republican representative body, the propriety of forcing a dark despotism upon a protesting people, upon one of our own young States, especially as this was to be done in the name of Democracy and of "popular sovereignty." If the statement of the proposition would not carry its own damnation, no parliamentary language of mine could fitly describe it; and the mind that could for a moment entertain it, is entirely beyond my reach.

And when the Administration and its masters, foiled in the naked wickedness, intrenched in those whose plighted faith,* if not their principles, should have been their guard, and hatched the nasty substitute—a substitute establishing the principle of non-submission, while claiming to provide for its execution, though coupled with conditions fraud-inviting, and deeply insulting to Kansas, to Freedom, and the North—I watched the new-born men, to see whether a soul had been actually given them. More in pity than in anger, I saw them fall before they had well learned to stand; saw them, with mouths full of valiant words, swallow naked and degrading insults; saw them yield to a dominant absolutism, though not a complete, yet a real, and to us and them degrading victory.

By a lawless enforcement of lawless *dicta*, Slavery exists in all the Territories; and we have now the precedent that such Territory may at any time become a slave State; but, if it cannot be forced or bribed to receive a slave Constitution, it must continue a slave Territory; must wait for the last jot and title of preliminary requirement.

I had faintly hoped to have been spared this cup of degradation; but why should I? Ever since the slave interest has succeeded in overriding every other interest; ever since the enemies of free labor, the contemners of free speech, the assassins of free thought, have established the reign of terror in nearly half these States, have I seen but a single purpose, a "one idea," an absorbing object, prompting and pushing their every scheme.

Gentlemen seem astonished at the bald wickedness of striving to force upon an unwilling, a protesting people, a despotic fundamental law, and the bladder meanness of tendering them a bribe and a threat to receive what could not thus be forced. Yet, where the end is the supremacy of force, where that end has been for years the steady, unremitted object, with no variableness, and scarce a shadow of turning, how can we wonder? Shall means be more holy than the end? The Lecompton scheme of fraud and usurpation, the preparatory outrages—the forays, the robberies, the burnings, the imprisonments, the murders—all perpetrated by or under the sway of Federal officials; all sustained, directly or indirectly, by Federal bayonets, and the disgraceful *finale*, may well astonish and alarm. Yet, they are but acts in the one grand drama.

The success of these champions of force is no less surprising. Representing but a section of this Union, and that section, from the blighting influence of their rule, comparatively weak and poverty-stricken, men wonder to see them able to control the federation and realize every sectional scheme; able to give a construction to the fundamental law one way, against the wants of commerce, of creative art, and the necessities of personal protection, and another way in favor of despotic interests; to see them make solemn contracts to subserve such interests, and break them for the same end; to see them able to sectionalize and pack the Supreme Judiciary; to inflict the sword on the Judge upon and trial by jury; to involve us in war upon the weak, to rob territory for Slavery, while yielding to the strong that which was free, and to which "our title was clear and unquestionable;" to see them able to prostrate a high-minded men, driving from the public service those of all sections who believe in the harmony of the Decalogue, the Declaration, and the Constitution—making tests that would have excluded Franklin and Jefferson and Washington from office; to see them make cringing slaves of Northern hoasters, dooming to the curse of the serpent, "upon my belly shalt thou crawl," every applicant for Federal favor; to see them cause in this Hall parliamentary law respected upon other questions, to be so often overthrown upon questions of Slavery, and make the courts of the federation, eager and blood-thirsty as a fighting dog, crouching, powerless against the piratical apostles of foreign propagandism. Men, too, wonder—ay, they are sore amazed—to see the apostles of force able to place this Government in leagues with despotisms against our own principles, sustaining them in ballot-stuffings, forgeries, and every political crime known among men, to cause it, to employ all its powers to fasten upon this Territory a form of State Government it loathes and detests, and, driving as hard reason for the damning crime, the fact that it does thus detest it! Ay, and their wonder grows to astonishment as they behold Representatives of spasmodic virtue glad to be permitted to aid to the fell work by bribes, by threats, and by invited frauds!

Whence this omnipotence for evil? Yet we should not wonder. These are the necessary results of the direst spirit and resolution, the different manner and purpose, that ever lived to distinguished the controversies between the friends and opponents, if opponents they may be called, of human enslavement. The friends of human liberty have been all, all energy, all perseverance in their work; while their opponents have met them by temporizing, now expostulating, now faintly resisting, and finally always yielding. The former have seized a great idea as the basis of their civilization; and, steadily keeping it in view, have subordinated every other consideration. The latter, intent upon gain, and peace in its pursuit, have ignored all fixed principle, been blind to any great end, and, instead of a shaping, have had no policy for an enduring purpose. The "I will" of the one is met by the "please don't" of the other; and "I'm afraid I can't" is the bravest response to the grim "you shall;" and while the former have kept their purposes firm in the middle of the conflict, the latter have sought to send into retirement all whose earnestness of resistance has seemed to make reality of a dream. Given the brave champions of "the equality of the States" and "the sovereignty of the people," after consistency has been made more safe than surrender, as they meet the frown of the accustomed master, equipped yield body, by a cheapening slave population against a free Constitution, and by tendering a brave people a bullying bribe to accept an obnoxious slave one.

We often hear the shuffling and the incoherent denounced the decided as abstractionists, as men of mere ideas; and with blank self complacency congratulate themselves as devoted to the actualities of life, and not its mere notions—as though the ideal were not the only human actual—as though the mere material wants of men were more than those of the swine. The ruling idea shapes all things. Before the world sprang forth from the hand of the Creator—before tree or animal assumed form—it first stood clearly out in His mind, and he pronounced it good only as it realized the ideal. So the artist, before he touches the chisel, first elaborates and places the form on his ideal in his own mind; and his subsequent labor is not for his own eyes, but to enable others to see what to him is already more clear than it can ever become to them. That form inspires to virtue or lust, to devotion or sensuality, according to the idea that inspires and fashions the form. So with society, whether political or religious, social or domestic. It is based upon an idea—yea, it is itself an idea, and its ends are but ideal—and such society is a blessing or a curse; it civilizes or barbarizes; it promotes happiness or misery, virtue or vice, holiness or sensualism, according to these ends.

And we hear the same class of materialists denounce the world's workers as "men of one idea!" as men who would stem, or thrust the current or stem the tide, could wake the sluggish race, give form to society, and soul and sentiment to man; or even achieve those less difficult, though, to vulgar eyes, more striking material triumphs, that send the steam engine along the mountain slope, or the lightning upon its quiet post-boy errands, who is not controlled by a leading, absorbing, all-conquering idea. A resistless purpose, a steadfast, burning idea in his soul. An unshaken constancy, a granite principle, a great ideal end, must take possession of him, must overpower and drive out the seductions of indolence or sense, must dispossess the lightly, but firmly, intrenched, must drive him, and bear him "onward, right onward," to his goal, and with a steady momentum that first excites the derision, next the wonder, and finally takes captive the will of those around him. Yet, who ever accomplished any purpose, and, with anything like equality, it will tell you who will conquer. The sure proscriptions of their enemies, the derisions of the brainless, are the certain tribute to their power; and if honors are bestowed, they have been, the pledge of their triumph. But I pray the scoffer to point me to the achievements of those who are not men of one idea; who have no controlling purpose, no fixed faith, but are floats, tossed upon every wave, waifs cast upon every shore, butterflies wafted upon every breeze.

Were I to indulge in personal illustration, I might point to men of my own section—men of great opportunities, and who have become illustrious by an office, according to their faith, their fitness of purpose. I might instance our Websters and Van Bursens, who, seeing the sight, spasmodically struggled against the wrong; yet, "lapped the lion Delilah more than the rough lents of Israel," yielded to treacherous caresses, and became but the sport of the common enemy. Those who might have carved themselves a name on which the hopeful might have rested, and the fearful of freedom have given their country a faith, bowed to the superior will of their enemies, and are laid, and are waiting to be laid, in the forgotten graves of the vulgar great.

I might point to our John Adams—and my colleague will pardon me for adding our Giddings—whose fidelity, whose will, amid storms of foes, and, what so much more tries a great man's soul, the shrinking of coward friends, holds them in the place of the worshipers of the tyranny that had stifled this House, and restored, what to lose is to lose all, freedom of debate to this, the people's Hall. Ay, and more: that will, that resolution, is taking captive the fresh minds, the young men of the West, the fresh impositions of mad tyranny, instead of cowing and discouraging, but inspire them to eager labor and patient waiting for its sure overthrow.

I might also instance from the champions of force, from those who have fought so well in a cause so bad, the name of Calhoun, the John Calvin of the propaganda. Constant in his labor, undiverted by personal hopes or party ties, with only a hand, strong in power, of acknowledged followers in the national councils, he has finally, by his fidelity and by his and their perseverance, furnished the dogma and doctrine of the creed of the party of absolutism. He affected no consciousness that in this one idea. He was pure in his life, yet the apostle of systematized violence and unchecked lawlessness. He was clear in his logic, yet he ran to the wildest conclusions. Sincere, he led in his ends their toward homes; yet behind in Divine pillars will flee rock and desert, Midianite and Amorite, till the land shall be reached, and by a people who dare possess it!

Who expatiates on the energy and success of the slave domination, yet I see in the near future its hastening end. I see it, because tyranny itself has become demented. The wisdom that controlled its energy has departed. Its strength was in its moderation as well as fierceness; it has become wantonly arrogant and insulting. Its allies have been conservatism and ignorance; frightened at its recklessness, they have hitherto sought to oppose its mad pretensions; while its bold assertions open the eyes of ignorance itself. Like the harlot past power of seduction, it flaunts its very nakedness to the disgusted eyes of those its decent garments were wont to entice. I see it also in the new spirit of its opponents. Casting aside old issues and entangling alliances, they have finally accepted the issues of a debauched Democracy. Firmness begins to meet firmness, and resolution resolution. Senators from Presidential steps may fling their weak threats;* Representatives may remove their transient faith by uttering deeper to a hired mob;† applicants for seats that the people have refused them, may make the heart sicken at their servility; yet, like the whinchhing aristocracy at the mad feast of Belshazzar, they but darken their own sun doom.

And here I would pause. I have hitherto, during this session, declined speaking upon the Slavery question, and would not do so now but that the mountains of Freedom and free institutions on the one side have been chiefly met on the other by arguments only upon the specific questions before us; and thus some appear so unsettling of the great questions of any form, whether by bill or argument, gentlemen thrust it upon us. The argument of the gentleman from South Carolina, [Mr. KEITT,] this evening, following up the dicta of those oracles of chief justice, that have so long, by charge the iniquities of Slavery upon the religion of Him whom their prototypes crucified, is but a specimen of the continuous agitations of the propagandists. While I desire to avoid unnecessary discussion, on this occasion, I am always ready to take up the glove, and, without following the line of argument of any one gentleman, I will proceed in the invited road.

I have alluded to the idealism of the propagandists, and the singleness of their devotion. As fully as my remaining time will permit, I propose to show WHAT and WHENCE is this idea.

It is simply the idea of FORCE, as the origin, the base of property; and SUBJECTION, the law of government.

Society, itself an idea, takes its form and its character, its influence and its life, from the idea that inspires it—from the ideal ends for which it was sought. The mere end of society, of its most complicated machinery, must be the security of property. The instinct of property is within us all; its necessity is absolute; and upon the ancient and modern theories of political morals, that by origin is the only property attributed by Theocydides to his countrymen, that "to a King or Commonwealth nothing is unjust which is useful," (Thu. Hist. vol. 6,) the following declamation of the younger Pitt, in opposition to the slave trade:

"The argument which, in his [Mr. Pitt's] opinion, ought to determine the committee, was, that the slave trade was unjust. It was such a trade as no man would engage in to support, unless it could be first proved to him that there were no laws of morality binding upon nations, and that it was not the duty of a Legislature to restrain its subjects from indulging the lucrative passions of avarice, and from violating the fundamental principles of justice."—*Clarkson's History of the Abolition of the Slave Trade, vol. 2, page 243.*

Could England in all her administrations, and all the Senate, have been insensible to sentiment; could she have withstood the barbarism of her greedy capitalists, by the Christianity of her common law; what dishonor would not have been saved to her! what woes, what blight, to her and her children, would have fled! was his neighbor's ox or his neighbor's wife, his flocks or his children, his farm or himself; all yielded to the robber-right; and the spoils—*manciple*—became but a term for property.

As society advanced, the manner of slave became systematized, and ripened into the ancient law of nations; and that law was such a system of brutality, such a system of robbery and wrong, that humanity would fain turn its sickened head away. I will not give details, but merely allude to them, as compendiously referred to by Wheaton:

"[Victory,] in their [the Roman] expressive language, 'made even the sacred things of the enemy profane;' confiscated all his property, movable and immovable, public and private; doomed him and his posterity to perpetual Slavery." &c.—*Wheaton's Law of Nations, 25.*

The same author introduces his work by the following allusion to the fundamental idea of Pagan civilization:

"The laws or customs, by which the mutual intercourse of European nations was regulated, previous to the introduction of Christianity, were founded on the principles which regarded the different races of men as natural enemies. With the ancient Greeks and Romans, the terms barbarian, stranger, and enemy, were originally synonymous. Nothing but some positive compact exempted the persons of aliens from being doomed to slavery, the moment they passed the bounds of one State, and touched the confines of another. And, though, according to the Roman law, in its more improved state, an alien, with whose country the relations of friendship and hospitality did not exist, was not technically considered an enemy, [*hostis,*] yet his person might lawfully be enslaved, and his property confiscated by the laws of Rome territory. During the heroic age of Greece, piracy was 'universally practiced,' &c.

Pagan authorities did not decide what might be held as property, whether the earth and its products, the inferior animals, or man. They made not the moral law, nor the unchangeable things. That was not alone property over which the common Father had given us dominion—they knew not His law. Though Justinian, in the light of Christianity pronounced property in man contrary to the law of nature, though his annotators could faintly hear the inward voice that, to all who have ears to hear, clearly inculcates each man's right to his own person, to his own wife, and the children, and his own home, and the custody of his own children; such, however, repudiates the idea that they can be the property of others; yet this idea contravened no law of property as handed down from their Pagan ancestors, and but very slightly modified. The civil law failing to designate what might be property, it is not strange that whatever could be subjected to one's dominion, whether men or things, came to be regarded as his property, and the *manciple—mancipatum—the seized*—was one of its legitimate terms.

We hence see the rottenness of the whole Roman system; that the splendid civil code—the highest Pagan work of human reason, and which alone of Rome is immortal, because it so failed in the foundation of law, because it traversed not the law of force as the basis of property, but sanctioned and sanctified the robber-systems of the age, was but feeble to save the State. We, hence, cannot wonder that the ancient States met only enemies without, while nourishing only enemies within. We cannot wonder at the oppressions that drove men mad, at the cruelties that made them fiends, at the monopolies that converted whole districts into slave principalities, at the dishonor of labor, and at the idleness and spoil-hunting that made of the people but a worthless rabble. We cannot wonder that the State was but the only staff of the State, and the commander its Imperator; and finally, when the army failed, that the State itself fled for shelter to that grave in foul diseases that was its only fit refuge.

States should be treated as men. The analogy is to the soul, not to the body; to an idea, itself immortal; not organized matter, itself perishable. Justice, equally administered, rejuvenates the society, overthrows abuses, and clothes a people with the immortality of youth, power, wickedness without justice, corrupts and effeminates the possessor; inflames those who feel its weight; and, sooner or later, rouses them to resistance to the effeminated tyrant. Despotic States may for a time seem to stand firm. So long as active labor can replace the shifting pile, can repair the action of torrent and storm, that tower will stand. But, when labor ceases, the laws of nature will vindicate their supremacy. The laws of nature, of God, whichever you term them, are immortal; and States, to be immortal, must harmonize with them. Those brilliant Republics, and those powerful Empires, that led in the ends their toward homes; yet behind in Divine pillars will flee rock and desert, Midianite and Amorite, till the land shall be reached, and by a people who dare possess it!

Who expatiates on the energy and success of the slave domination, yet I see in the near future its hastening end. I see it, because tyranny itself has become demented. The wisdom that controlled its energy has departed. Its strength was in its moderation as well as fierceness; it has become wantonly arrogant and insulting. Its allies have been conservatism and ignorance; frightened at its recklessness, they have hitherto sought to oppose its mad pretensions; while its bold assertions open the eyes of ignorance itself. Like the harlot past power of seduction, it flaunts its very nakedness to the disgusted eyes of those its decent garments were wont to entice. I see it also in the new spirit of its opponents. Casting aside old issues and entangling alliances, they have finally accepted the issues of a debauched Democracy. Firmness begins to meet firmness, and resolution resolution. Senators from Presidential steps may fling their weak threats;* Representatives may remove their transient faith by uttering deeper to a hired mob;† applicants for seats that the people have refused them, may make the heart sicken at their servility; yet, like the whinchhing aristocracy at the mad feast of Belshazzar, they but darken their own sun doom.

And here I would pause. I have hitherto, during this session, declined speaking upon the Slavery question, and would not do so now but that the mountains of Freedom and free institutions on the one side have been chiefly met on the other by arguments only upon the specific questions before us; and thus some appear so unsettling of the great questions of any form, whether by bill or argument, gentlemen thrust it upon us. The argument of the gentleman from South Carolina, [Mr. KEITT,] this evening, following up the dicta of those oracles of chief justice, that have so long, by charge the iniquities of Slavery upon the religion of Him whom their prototypes crucified, is but a specimen of the continuous agitations of the propagandists. While I desire to avoid unnecessary discussion, on this occasion, I am always ready to take up the glove, and, without following the line of argument of any one gentleman, I will proceed in the invited road.

I have alluded to the idealism of the propagandists, and the singleness of their devotion. As fully as my remaining time will permit, I propose to show WHAT and WHENCE is this idea.

It is simply the idea of FORCE, as the origin, the base of property; and SUBJECTION, the law of government.

Society, itself an idea, takes its form and its character, its influence and its life, from the idea that inspires it—from the ideal ends for which it was sought. The mere end of society, of its most complicated machinery, must be the security of property. The instinct of property is within us all; its necessity is absolute; and upon the ancient and modern theories of political morals, that by origin is the only property attributed by Thucydides to his countrymen, that "to a King or Commonwealth nothing is unjust which is useful," (Thu. Hist. vol. 6,) the following declamation of the younger Pitt, in opposition to the slave trade:

"The argument which, in his [Mr. Pitt's] opinion, ought to determine the committee, was, that the slave trade was unjust. It was such a trade as no man would engage in to support, unless it could be first proved to him that there were no laws of morality binding upon nations, and that it was not the duty of a Legislature to restrain its subjects from indulging the lucrative passions of avarice, and from violating the fundamental principles of justice."—*Clarkson's History of the Abolition of the Slave Trade, vol. 2, page 243.*

Could England in all her administrations, and all the Senate, have been insensible to sentiment; could she have withstood the barbarism of her greedy capitalists, by the Christianity of her common law; what dishonor would not have been saved to her! what woes, what blight, to her and her children, would have fled!

It was a necessity that the ancient civilization should fall. It could no more live in the light of the Christian idea, than the altars of the Aztecs or the feasts of the Fejees; and the greater the system, the greater the manner the pile of this Bastile of human hopes—based as it was upon a lie, upon moral quicksands—the more complete the ruin. True, this ruin is not without its use. It is a great quarry, with many a fit column for the new temple based upon the rock.

It is a mistake to mourn over the collapse of mere force and the consequent and necessary anarchy. It could not be otherwise. They were the prelude of the Christian Dispensation. They became essential to make way for the gradual infusion of the idea of justice as the law of society, the law of property; and dark as was the transition, and seemingly hopeless as was the long fermentation of the Northern nations, yet, slowly emerging from that chaos, a form of society is arising, that may become immortal; for the curtailment of its abuses and the development of its uses is made possible by the gradual adoption, throughout Christendom, of the Divine idea. The steps to that end are already many and long; private property is no longer subject to lawful capture; private forays are piracy; prisoners of war are no longer slaves; cities cannot lawfully be doomed to pillage, their inhabitants, men, women, and children, delivered to the sword, or made to pass under the yoke as property; even the high seas, so long the safe field of robbery, are being encraged, and but for an act of Holy Alliance union right are this have been embraced in the protection of the great idea; and in all lands—shall I be forced to except my own?—the yoke is being broken, the scourge is being exchanged for the contract, and that bandmen gives way to the school-book.

And the struggle now is, to turn back the tide of civilization, to supplant the idea of justice, to re-introduce the law of force. Hardly a proposition, hardly a argument, but bears any favor, that has not this end in view. For that the dominant interest has broken faith, spurned every constitutional guarantee, proscribed all but self-sold slaves, debauched the judiciary, enslaved the Territories, made provinces of the States, and all to substitute the robber right for the Divine grant. Ay, and for that it has compassed heaven and earth to give life to the Lecompton villainy. Its central organ in February last endorsed a theory of Government, unless the principle of Lecompton be ratified; unless the slave interest be allowed "to retire from Kansas with our domestic institutions and our rights" established, "by not one single shot, while they [the North] have the kettle?" "Is it not enough that they have an overwhelming majority in Kansas?" The President, in presenting Lecompton, admitted that its success would be short. Why insist upon the principle of Lecompton is precious to the end ideaists? and why so precious? Only because, first, it is the work of a lean minority, and is accordingly rejected by the vast majority; hence the idea of sustaining "the principle of the consent of the governed;" and second, and mainly, this Constitution alone proclaims the atrocious dogma, that the right of property in man is as inviolable as the right of any other property, and is therefore sanctioned by